



# GLASGOW UNIVERSITY DAYS

2008-09

## ABSTRACT

Diary, Notes, Papers, Observation and  
Reflections of a retired Army Officer  
who happens to be the oldest in class.  
Aamir Cheema

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# A Year in Glasgow University

*An account of a mature student who happens to be a retired Pakistan army officer and absent without leave from his home.*

I had plan before my retirement to have a master degree from UK, the main idea was that since I knew my limitation that I cannot do any business and to get a flying job with my turbulent career despite having an instructor rating was a dicey affair and above all it was a life long fantasy and wish to study in a foreign university ,and it has to be a British and nothing else. In Skardu the speed of computer was very slow yet I by accidentally able to log on to the Cambridge and oxford universities, I thought why not to aim high and apply there, moreover I was already undergoing a master in Allama Iqbal Open University in history.

I went to Lahore with my family and there by chance I attended a seminar held by a foreign university probably Bolton and I got the first hand idea ,also it became apparent that I can get admission ,the main factor was the money and meeting certain prerequisite qualification

I did started working with earnest zeal in January 2008 for admission and logged on for nights after nights going through the universities and their web pages, I was not yet clear in my mind what to study, the brain said study something to make money like business administration or journalism but heart said ,no go for what you like and that was and is history, any way to cut a long story short I did met representatives of British universities at Rawalpindi and I had all the pre requisites ,like reference latters, photo copies of my degrees and above all sample work ,I came to know that Glasgow university do offer a Master of Letter degree in war studies and from that point onward it became simple, my son was the only one in my close family who supported my idea, we both used to go for early morning jogging and cycling and I would brief him on the pros and cons of my studying in England, my wife was deadly against my going and threatened dire consequences if did went ahead with the project.

It was in March 2008 that I got the unconditional letter from the university of Glasgow for my admission and it was an e mail ,I only person with whom I could share my joy at that time was Colonel Ahsan Janjua and I did gave him a ring

From that point onward till my departure on 01<sup>st</sup> October 2008,I was busy in compilation of my aviation history book, I had many pending things to do,like getting leave from army because despite being retired I was still on leave pending retirement,I had to apply for visa and above all I have to arrange the money by selling my plot in Lahore,I also had to go to Skardu because my old passports were there,and I did all this in a very casual manner yet in the end everything went okay

I got the flight on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2008, it was very heavy on my heart, my family knew that I would be leaving but when they were not sure and I had no intention of telling them and making them sad

The flight took off at 1100 hours local time, I had a first class seat, I watched the journey towards west, from a historical point, as we moved

**14<sup>th</sup> September 2009-09-15** it is 1354 Hours and I am sitting on 8<sup>th</sup> Floor of Glasgow university library outside its cloudy yet there seems to be no apparent chance of rain but you cannot predict this in Glasgow. On my right is a girl sitting in front of computer doing work apparently she is a new comer as she has got a note book and on computer there is a map thus she is looking for an accommodation. There are few more students but over all it's a quite day.

I got up in the morning at around eight and then went for jogging and had some time in the gym apart from swimming, on my way back to my flat on woodland road I stopped at the local butcher not that I had to buy but he was insisting on having a chat, he is from Pakistan born here. We talked about women, meat, and religion and later he narrated some passages from Alchemist novel, from there I walked back, thinking about Rena's letter which had not arrived yet from America. The sun rays were shining, had a bath in cold water as despite my best effort I could not make out what was wrong with the boiler. Later on my way down I got hold of postman and there were two letters from my beloved whom I have not seen in last twenty years.

Now I go back to last October when I came here, but before that it will be appropriate to introduce myself as such you won't be able to fully grasp my interpretation of this one year of life. I am 44 years of age, spent almost twenty five years in Pakistan army as aviator and retired in 2008 as a major. I have one son who was fifteen when I came here and a daughter who is twelve and only one wife Stamina who is herself a doctor in army, my father and mother are alive yet they are separated. My father is a retired commercial pilot himself. I am an atheist by religion and anarchist by political view point although it's difficult to explain both these terms. History is my kind of passion, and I had a degree from an open university in history. For last couple of years I was busy in compiling the history of my corps which is under publishing, before I came I handed over the draft to the publisher The Army Press in Islamabad...

I had been in Europe in 1990 for over three months twice, I had a girl friend in Germany Ingrid whom I had met in Thailand in 1990, I also went to Burma in 1996 for a month travelling on the footsteps of John Masters one of my favourite writer.

Now I am not a rich man by any standard and I have never been able to manage the finances in my life it was courtesy of Pakistan army which gave a piece of land to every officer on retirement.

**Why I came here** has its roots in that feeling which every retired officer goes, a year before I started thinking about what to do in life, my aim was simple to have fun with the productivity, I assured myself and debated for a long time that after quarter of century of this risky life if I am alive then I must have a good time for a year and there is nothing better than to go to an university. England was the natural choice, Oxford and Cambridge did not accept me's was thinking of education degree and then changed my mind to history. In my mind it was not just a year in university it was another movie in life video. The best I thought was David Lean Ryan's daughter, thus I started looking for old universities, came across Aberdeen. Finally on one of the education seminar I bumped into the Glasgow university I was not interested in it as in my opinion Glasgow was a big city where as I was looking for a

country side or next to sea. But the War Studies was tempting so tempting that it over ruled every thing and I put my application and I was given an unconditional letter.

All along I kept announcing to my family what I intend doing .my son took it seriously and everyday I would give him a picture of what will I be doing in university and why education is so important for all of us otherwise if I don't get this degree ,then all our life we will remain in a situation where we will be competing with the society on materialistic values but education will save us from this agony,salik knowing fully well his father agreed ,wife was a different ball and game, under no circumstances I was to leave, she resorted to centuries old tactics that ranged from cooking to weeping to threatening to shouting to throwing and hurling. For a normal person these acts are very distracting as at any stage either you can be tempted into their charms or be scaled of the consequences but with fifteen years of marriage life under my belt I was determined not to give away. anyway to cut a long story short I arrived at Glasgow airport on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2008.But before I move forward when I was leaving my house I left in the hours of darkness, my family was sleeping and next morning was the aid day ,the day for which people from all over the world come back to home, I went to the bakery and bought the food stuff and left in the house, my only fear was that if my wife wakes up then there was no chance that I would be able to get the flight from the airport. My regimental officer Major Jawed was coming from Rawalpindi and we tied up to meet at the bazaar, before that I had shifted my two bags for morning flight to the aviation mess.Jawad reached and we did one final packing and we remained awake till wee hours, he rang one of his friend at Glasgow and despite my all protests told him to receive me on airport with a lure that he is sending him cigarettes.

Squadron vehicle dropped me at the allama iqbal airport, it was an eid day so not much of rush, I had a first class seat. there awas another girl in jeans who was also heading for Glasgow university and we had a coffee together, my first coffee with another lady without fear of my wife in almost a decade..

**Flight was comfortable** it was after almost a decade or plus that was travelling aging on international route, much has changed the seats were very different then the in-flight entertainment which after half an hour was deathly boring. The aircraft was over the plains of Multan and I travelled into history with the flight, here at this city Alexander the great was wounded, then came the Great river Indus and ground became deserted, the foothills of the mountains started all barren it lasted for another an hour before I saw a city in the amidst of a mountains which was traversed by the streams from the all corners, I asked air hostess and she was unaware later she went to captain and came back, its Kabul. well the mystery was solved, the moguls' have been coming all along these routes and there was no other way if you descend down from these mountains then to follow the path of the water and there you enter the flat vastness of the Dravidians, the Hindus and moguls' and before them the ghaznavids were always tempted by the richness of the plains. The people living in the plains were no match to these warriors who were mobile and hardy. Aircraft flew on and now I was able to map the central Asia, all similar to the Kabul, mountains and mountains through which runs arteries of life the water and then cities. My mind thought of Mongols the greatest horde of all and down below I saw the Russian steppes but before that were lakes, this steppe is vast in size just opposite to the sub continental plains, it is not flat, it is jagged and deserted, and often I saw habitats which were all isolated with single road entering or leaving them. The food in flight was good, my mind thought of family what they were doing now, at what time they would have realised that I am gone,salik must have checked the room and would have announced in his peculiar fashion 'mama papa's clothes are missing' another onrush of guilt and to overcome this guilt I tried to read Hitler's Mein Kampf,when ever I am in such

situation I try to read this book as it is real and I have not understood it in totality yet the life pattern of Fuehrer is always motivating. I had some chat with the girl whose name I came to know is faiza mannan, there was another fellow passenger who was fast asleep, I tried to use the seat but I was not aware of the buttons but I did succeeded. while you are sitting or travelling in first class some how the other one develops a kind of opinion about passengers travelling in economy class, in my case since majority of the life I have travelled in economy and while sitting there I had always harvested communist ideas about the first class. Out side it was still the Russian steppes now I saw some snow top mountains as well, finally I saw sea and then the island of Great Britain, it was 9 hours of flight. Scotland from above look very beautiful, green scarcely populated dotted with lakes and forests, the aircraft binged over the Glasgow and I saw the city which will be my abode for another a year, all I saw was sapphire of churches and mass of buildings yet it looked small. I am always scared despite twenty years in aviation whenever an aircraft approaches landings, there is a thought that runs in my mind, in case if the captain has given the controls to co-pilot for landing and that sucker mess up this one, after a prolong float the wheels touched the ground and I was relax after almost a year of tension. the airport was small one and finally I was standing in the queue for entry stamp, I still had that premonition that Murphy law can work here, I rattle my mind and got one scary signal in case if there is any trace of any hash or that thing after all bag or bags are years old. I had two bags not the proper one but long canvas holdall in which I had a variety of clothes ranging from Great Coat to khaddar kames shalwar, I generally try to adhere top military academy's dress code yet I had much too many. On the custom desk there were three people one male who was British another Sikh and third a white female/ I again try to work my mind as to which one will be better, Sikh was the least favourable for the reason that one lesson which I have learnt is that own people are more dangerous ,and out of two I would had preferred the female but I had no option and I was called ,I had to get some documents from the bag and while getting them the Mien Kemp dropped out ,well the gentleman asked one odd question and I was given the entry stamp.

I walked and at the railing I saw one gentleman and he waved at me, his name was Usman, and I had bought two cartons of cigarettes for him in flight. We walked out and lit a fag, I saw a woman walking past me in her shorts that was the first interaction. Usman took me first to the university area; the first hour in any foreign city is fascinating especially once you have travelled not countries but civilisation. There was a Global positioning system {GPS} in the car which was a new thing for me, you just feed the data and car directs to you. The university area was good, now my mind was working in Pakistani style, I thought that office would be open and there must be someone to guide you but first I was almost a week late and that's not how it works, how ever after having a look at the sports ground I was impressed, it was a far cry from the first day when I entered the military academy twenty five years ago. usman's house was in suburbs, a neat and clean house, it started raining, he offered me to stay in his house but I politely declined it ,he then found one room for me in a hotel near university area, he made the payment through his card online, this again was new for me as we seldom use it for online payment in Pakistan for the fear of being ripped, the room cost £30 per night. I had apart from the draft for the fees which was 9000£ and another draft of 6000£ also had 3300£ in cash in my pocket. usman dropped me at the Botanic Garden hotel on great western road, the car couldnot be parked in front of the hotel thus in that chilly and rainy weather I had to carry these heavy bags and I curse myself for this and also remembered the aviation mess Rawalpindi where by this time some one would have come and carry my bags.

There was a petite Indian girl who was all alone and managing the desk, there was no hassle of waiters in the hotel which I expected, she checked the record and informed me that my payment has not been made so I had to pay another £30, she also informed me that my room is on the top floor, I carried these heavy bags one by one to the top floor. On the last trip to pick the bag I saw two Indian students carrying their bags for exit, they informed me that they have found an accommodation in the city and are moving out, there was another Greek student who had also just arrived and was extremely worried about his accommodation, I gave him a soothing talk which meant 'relax'. After reaching my room I had a look at the window and rest of the room, it was small room, one small TV and kettle for making tea. I just lay down on the bed and thought of the family, calculated the time difference and realised they must have gone to sleep if at all they could sleep, but I was confident that samina will handle the situation, salik would be ok, azadeh not much of a problem, yet a whole one year is no small matter. In these thoughts I changed and went down and walked aimlessly towards one side and first shop was the pub and I entered in it and ordered a beer, there were two bartenders in short clothes, I asked about smoking restrictions and was promptly told that 'you cannot smoke you have to go outside for it'. The first sip of chilled beer and all the idiotic thoughts started vanishing, I assured my conscious 'people die also, look at riaz azeem, officers go on for war also, don't be sissy, relax and enjoy'. Later I had a pizza in the grillious restaurant which was located next door bought few packets of chips and went back to my room and slept.

### University Days

I have never attended a regular university in my forty three years of life although I had been and still is a student of an open university in Pakistan and have been attending the classes of them for last three years and also I have been going occasionally to universities there but that was seldom for studies and now I am here in Glasgow university for last six months and this is my experience of this time.

On the very first day I was more concerned about my accommodation than anything else yet I had to follow the steps to be enrolled in the university. I first went to 9 university garden where department of history is located, this I did from asking the students and it was easy to reach there, I reached the office of Christelle, I had been in touch with her on net as she was the co-ordinator of the course yet I had no idea how she looks and how old she is, I did ask her on net to clarify her sex and all she had replied was that I should call her christell. Her office was at the top of almost hundred steps, it was a fresh experience to meet a person with whom I was in communication on net, a mid thirty woman, French and simple in nature. She guided me about the course and that's all, she told me that class is at 1500 hours in room 208, No 2 University gardens, and for next six months this was my abode. She also gave me a hand out which had the programme for next three months, all classes on Tuesday and Thursdays and all at 1500-1700 hours.

I then walked to the no 2 university gardens, in fact it all is one series of buildings almost hundred years old. I entered the building with anticipation, first I met Dr Simon Ball the head of department, he generally welcomed me and that was all, he did not offer any help in finding accommodation for me and neither he offered any cup of tea and neither engaged in any lengthy talk. This was something a cultural shock, in my environments it was supposed to be other way round, but as an alien I observed all this and enjoyed. It was Thursday the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October and I had already missed three classes and this was the fourth in series, a presentation on Machiavelli's Art Of War in 10 university gardens room no 9. I entered the class with lot of

anticipation, how are the classes going to be, how they are going to teach, who will be my class fellows and so on. After all I have paid a heavy price both financially and emotionally to be here in the university.

My class fellows were a mix breed of students, none paid any attention to me or said any word of welcome or inquire who I am or from where I come from, I made an effort and went to every one shook hands and introduced myself, yet they were cold in response. Chad was from USA so was Kelly a blonde and heavy girl, Chohan from HongKong although he possesses USA nationality, Lawrence from Ireland, Dimitri from Greece, Matti from Finland, Matthew from England, Celine from Germany and that's all. Hall had few chairs, a black board and computer, it was cold but warm. Lawrence gave the presentation on Machiavelli and professor Sam Cohn was in attendance. In simple words I was disappointed with the standard of presentation, I had been giving and attending presentations for last twenty five years and do expect certain standards, but it was new for me, it was too informal in nature, all clad in jeans. I mentally compared to my military classes and found it below par but then I consoled my mind that this is western university and here how it works. I did ask the first question and started a debate and soon other joins in, my point was regarding the concept of militia and mercenary armies which Machavalli was against, I have read the book before coming thus I had a fair knowledge about what I was talking about. The professor did not like my arguments and I could feel a certain hostility in him. Same feeling was conveyed by the celine after the class. As soon as the class finished everyone simply got up and walked out, none bothering about the lights to be switched off or to say hello to each other.

This was my first day in the university but with the passage of time I understood the system and how it works.

The pattern of study was that professor would deliver the lecture on Tuesday for two hours and then on Thursday one of the student would give presentation called seminar for two hours. The next lecture on 7<sup>th</sup> October was on Clausewitz by professor Hew Strachan. I have been reading and listening about Clausewitz for almost a quarter of century and never really understood about him other than 'War is an extension of policy' and I really looked forward to this lecture in earnest. Hew Strachan gave the looks of a professor and for two hours we talked about Clausewitz, the teaching method was not like what I was used to rather it was more of discussion in a friendly manner, I think that I was the only one in class who had read about Clausewitz before and I quoted frequently, I admit that I thought that Strachan does not know about much of Clausewitz and he smilingly listened to me as well, it was only later that I came to know about him, he has written many books about war and strategy and that I think was his beauty that he did not show or imposed or contradict my feelings about him in the class. But it was a treat to listen to him about Clausewitz.

Next was Early Modern Warfare, then Europe's Small warfare, Mahan and Sea power, small arms and their control, Deep Soviet Battle, evolution of European warfare, Douhet and then a visit to national museum at Edinburgh. I gave two seminars on Mahan and Douhet and wrote an essay on Airpower as well.

The basic difference between what I have been studying and what I was learning now lies in the fact that here there was no supervision, it was self discipline and self study. No fear of exams or grading. I bought books on Mahan and Douhet and realised that books are expensive to buy here, I also bought few more books from a book fair that was held in Botanic Garden, I also had brought few books with me from Pakistan as well. All classes were held in the rooms of the professors, which were quite big, had a central table few chairs and shelves full of books, all the teachers were Phds in relevant subjects. We would have a kind of tea break after an hour and could take tea or coffee while in the class and so would be the

teacher. No black boards or slides. My routine would be to get up late in the morning and then read Clausewitz, Douhet, Mahan, Liddell Hart, Guderian and so on, make lunch for myself and on given days arrived at the university gardens, sit outside them, smoke my pipe watch the students go by and observe them, attend the class and then again sit outside in cold and smoke the pipe and again watch the students of all ages, races, colour and nationality and sex. It was a great feeling and it became my habit and almost a ritual to follow the routine. Weather became colder and colder and darker and darker. In between there were few seminars conducted by the department on various themes as well in which the best thing was the free wine served at the end of the seminar, I made many friends rather acquaintances in the process.

The teachers were a cross section of society, for instance Dr O'Brien is an American who had done his PhD from Cambridge in Naval warfare, he always dressed up in jeans but was more open than anybody else, he was the one who took the whole class for drinks after his lecture to the Heather Research Club, Dr Alex Marshall who has done his PhD in Russian warfare from Moscow University, he is youngest of all and has got a chess on his table, which I used to play on every class, one move per lecture, Dr Simon Ball who again has got PhD in British defence Policy. Within the class there was no obvious warmth for others, all remained within themselves. Kelly never spoke a word in the whole tenure other than her seminar papers, Lawrence always came up with right wing ideas, Matthew would indulge in a question for which apparently there was never any answer, Matti always came in track suit because he would come straight from the Rugby practice, Dimitri was always concerned about the cyber warfare and as for me I would always have a soft corner for Adolf Hitler, Mongols and Joseph Stalin.

My observation about the class was that they have little idea about Asian warfare especially about the Mongols and secondly they are biased about the German war machine and are reluctant to talk about the WW2 from an independent point of view, same holds true for teachers and almost all the guest speakers, Nazism was a taboo word, nothing good can be attributed to them or to Russians. I took full liberty of my being an Asian and would always stress that 'from neutral point of warfare one must admire Germans and Hitler'. I did raise quite a few eyebrows by asking questions and defending them with examples. I understood that Europe remained engaged in warfare mainly on religious aspects, British talk about morality of their actions in WW2 but remain quiet on the brutality of their warfare especially the strategic bombing. In a way I felt homely because this is how we treat history back home when talking about Hindus and Whites. Religion is another taboo which was seldom discussed lest anyone gets offended, however I put the class at ease by myself criticising religion purely from historical pattern. The course bias was towards the European warfare and I did raise this point with Dr Simon Ball and with others highlighting the Mongols, Muslims, Sun Tzu and others and Simon did admit this drawback.

The students in the university come from all over the world and sitting outside and smoking pipe I would watch them. They all had something peculiar and common, almost everyone had an iPod and they would walk with ear phones, a bag hanging alongside, a faded or torn jeans, sneakers, a mug cap. The girls had different style, some would have heavy make up and almost all wore high length cowboy boots, which I never saw any male putting on. Girls generally tended to move with girls yet many would walk hand in hand with boys. But by and large I found them conservative. Blacks would move with blacks, Asians amongst Asians and Europeans amongst Europeans, exceptions are always there but as a general rule it was the pattern, same holds true for Chinese as well. The Malaysians would always wear head scarves. All were polite and never even once I saw any one shouting or abusing.

I would like to add what I have been writing in my diary at that time

**4<sup>th</sup> October 2008.**

*Today is my fourth day and right now I am thinking about my wife and children, I am thinking that tomorrow at 0600 hours, samina would get up and would make Salik ready for school then she would go with him to the bus stop and then she will come back and wake azadeh up and get herself ready and go to office, then she will pick azadeh up from school and it can take quite a time then she will prepare the food and wait for Salik... thinking all this my conscious is pinching me that I have left all of them just for my own selfish sake, I am alone in my room now and thinking that I should go to Byres Road and buy some utensils for cooking, had samina been here she would have done that, now I am far from her and now I realise how good she was I have forgotten all her cruelties and frankly none in this whole city can match her beauty*

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**Monday 6<sup>th</sup> October 08,** For whole rather half day I have been lying in my bed, outside its drizzling, read Clausewitz and Liddel Hart, Rang Tiger and Jawwad. thinking of salik and azadeh their voices are ringing in my mind, remembering samina, I rang salik and azadeh and listen to their hard talks. they are right and justified in their complaints. Went to Botanic garden and sat alone on a bench and thought of past, Bought few utensils. Its a strange thing the bill here is in 10-15 figures had it been my own country it would have been in hundreds or thousands. The British also takes ages in buying a thing, here nothing is free not even a shopping bag, my whole geography revolves around this Byres road. I went to a shop own by a Pakistani from Mirpur then to a shop own by a rana from Faisalabad, I tried to find some work but to no avail. Its weird I cannot find a bottle of ink in this city and neither can I find safety blades. After coming back I made food for myself, these were pieces of meat which I fried. Thai girl Indy also made food for herself and we both talk about our countries, she seems to be a very disciplined girl in kitchen just like Samina. Its 2200 hours and boys and girls are studying, cars are coming and going and my feet are aching.

**8<sup>th</sup> October 08.**

*Today he got up early, now he gets up early every day, why he does not know but his eyes open early, through the curtain he looked outside to judge the time but fails where he cannot hear the birds singing and neither can he hear the dogs barking but whenever his eyes opened it's the face of his wife and children that comes up and he knows that if he lie down long on the bed then these memories will keep on haunting him thus he put on shorts and shoes and then smoke a cigarette in toilet and then walk down the stairs judging the weather simultaneously, outside he started jogging slowly, he is the only person in this complex who gets up so early and go for jogging. As he jog he took a right turn this is a rich people area, after hundred yards there is a school and he could see mothers dropping their children, it was quite early definitely these mothers had to go for work therefore they are dropping these kids so early, little girls were carrying bags and some bags were carried by the mothers, he crossed the road and entered the Botanic garden, first he saw two old English men who were walking with their dogs, he kept on jogging the road was upslope thus soon he felt his breath shortening but he kept running, fresh air, grass, trees, silence, wet weather all looked good to him and finally he reached the mid of park and sat quietly on a bench. An English man was standing in the mid of the park with his two dogs, the man signalled to him and out of curiosity he walked towards him, first the dogs greeted him and then the man who was in mid forties, who simply said 'my mother has expired four days ago and I am sad and depressed' he also got sad because mother is mother no matter whose, he offered him brandy which he declined to drink, the man told him about his children, his eldest son was twenty eight and he also told him about his deceased mother, she was only eighteen when he was born. All this*

made him sad and he thought about his own mother and with these thoughts he came back to his room.

He made breakfast for himself and then went down to smoke a cigarette and then came back and slept. At Noon he got up and took time in deciding what to wear, it was a daily problem for him, what to wear, in case if you have more clothes than you can understand his dilemma, today he wore blue blazer and then thought which cap to wear, he is fond of wearing caps, and he has three –four caps. finally he settled on his old regimental cap.

#### **14<sup>th</sup> October 2008. Early Morning**

I think I get up very early in the morning, I go to park for walk, when I leave this building almost all are asleep or getting ready, weather is always cold and wet, outside one odd person is on road. all cars have mist on them, there is hardly anyone in the park also and after half an hour when I come back then few students are going to university, oh I forgot to mention in the morning everyone is walking with dog. I do admit that I only say good morning to ladies and when they reply with their soft tone, my soul gets a soothing impact, I also admit that I have yet to say good morning to any black person, some students also say good morning to me but they all are from Nigeria, at times one odd girl also say good morning but I never take anything wrong out of it, although had I been in Pakistan then I should have fallen in love with her.

#### **6<sup>th</sup> November 08, One Night**

There is a difference between day and night, morning brings message of hope where as the night carries load of whole day with lot of questions and queries and tonight is one such night. right now Isabella the german girl is cooking food {frying eggs} and also telling me about her sister and I am telling her about the good points of my wife.

Now I am sitting in the common room and almost all the boys are playing pool and table tennis, if I am not wrong we all are from third world, all whites have gone to club

## **Douhet - Command of Air.**

This was the very first paper I had to write, my mental orientation was still on the army basis, thus for me the paper was not difficult at least this is how I assumed. In army, military paper writing is an art and technique which has been perfected over the years and as such has lost the main purpose and now follows a set pattern, in which there is an introduction, the main body and finally the conclusion. Within my own experience in army, the emphasis is always on the main body and the introduction is always taken as grabbing the attention of the audience or the reader with conclusion as the foregone end; constructed and given finesse in the very beginning of the whole paper. This is not how the University works. I read a lot of books but then the idea crept into my mind that if I wrote a long bibliography it will be taken as unrealistic therefore I read over twenty odd books but listed only six as I thought this figure looks more realistic. I bought rather purchased on line the original book of Douhet and found the whole experience very convenient, the doubts in my mind and soul about being robbed and the 'item' never being delivered proved false. Later my supervisor pointed out that I have quoted very less bibliography and have not consulted any paper on net or web.

### **Introduction**

Giulio Douhet an Italian was born in 1869, he was commissioned in infantry and he in his capacity as staff officer was one of the pioneer Italian officer to comment about the aircraft and its potential in warfare. He commanded the aviation unit in 1911 and later commanded artillery as well. During WW1 he criticized Italian military incompetence and was court-martialled for a year. However after the war it was overturned and Douhet was promoted as general of aviation and in 1921 he published his doctrine and theories in a book 'Command of the Air', Douhet died in 1930.

### **Evolution of Aerial Warfare 1900-1920**

Since Montgolfier brothers hot air balloon ascent in 1783, the speculation of aerial war started brewing, Britain already had a balloon section in army before Wright brothers historic flight in 1903. The German domination in airship had aroused the public interest in the air defence of London fermented by the popular literature. The crossing of English Channel by Bleriot in 1909, made the heading of 'England no more an island' by daily mail. In Britain there was a keen eagerness on part of the public headed by the air enthusiast, Member of Parliament, and influential people like Lord Montagu, who kept pressuring the government to take steps regarding future air threat. In 1911 a demonstration was held at London in which a mock ship was destroyed by dropping aerial bombs. First an air battalion was formed in 1911 finally in 1912 The Royal Flying Corps and Royal Naval Auxiliary Service were raised

When WW1 started in 1914, almost all the belligerents had the aircraft and related aerservices, Britain had Royal Flying Corps with over one hundred aircraft divided among army and navy.

Germany had similar arrangements but was numerically superior and furthermore had more airships than anyone else, Austria, Italy and France all had their aircraft under command their army or navy.

In the war, aircraft were initially used for aerial reconnaissance but the bombing of London in 1915 and 1916 by Zeppelin highlighted the impact of aerial warfare, it was<sup>2</sup> Lord Montagu while addressing the House of Lords in 1916 stressed upon combining RFC and RNAS. It was in April 1918 that the first independent air force Royal Air Force was established with Hugh Trenchard as its chief.

### **Smut Report 1917**

This cabinet report which was put up on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1917, is infact the first ever concrete political analysis of the aerial warfare. It highlighted the wastage that is being incurred in maintaining two separate air wings for army and navy, more importantly it recommended an independent air force and a separate air ministry. Prophetically it stated<sup>3</sup> 'As far as can at present be for seen there is absolutely no limit to independent use of air and the day may not be far off when aerial operations with their devastation of enemy land and destruction of industrial and populous centres on a vast scale may become the principal operations of war to which all other forms of military and naval operations may become secondary and sub-ordinate'

### **Douhet Doctrine**

<sup>1</sup> Paris Michael, *Winged Warfare* [Manchester University Press, 1992,] P 66

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, P 82

<sup>3</sup> Robertson Scot, *Development of RAF Strategic Bombing Doctrine*, {London, Praeger Studies} P17

When Douhet wrote his doctrine 'Command of Air' in 1922, he was thus not the first one to write about the air warfare, but as is obvious from the preceding, it was there but not in a precise, concise, military and political manuscript, this is what Douhet accomplished. Douhet style of arguing is similar to Clausewitz way of writing.

1. Douhet starts with the effect that in any future war basing upon the experience of WW1, it is going to be a total war and thus there should be no difference between the <sup>4</sup>civil population and military as far as suffering is concerned, the military can stand the hardships but civil population cannot, thus it should be the civil population, the cities which should be targeted and destroyed in a manner by using explosives, incendiary and gas bombs that, their suffering should compel them to seek peace

2. The quickest and the <sup>5</sup>most economical way to do so is by employing aircraft, as they can penetrate into the heart of every enemy city, more so Douhet has always kept the financial aspect and the reality of Italian state in mind while elaborating his doctrine. He states that for the cost of one dreadnought one can have over one hundred aircraft, which will have more firepower than the ship, thus aircraft is the logical choice for causing destruction. He selects a zone of fifty square meters and states that it can be destroyed with one aircraft and ten aircraft are required to destroy five hundred square meters area and fifty such targets should be destroyed daily by using five hundred aircraft and soon the whole country will be engulfed in utter destruction

3. Douhet then logically <sup>6</sup>admits that enemy can also employ the same method, thus what is the remedy, and he proposes that enemy air force should be destroyed on ground there by achieving command of air, and anyone who will have the command of air will be able to achieve the victory and any nation who does not have command of air will lose the war, even if its army or navy are intact because the home front will collapse, thus the first target of own air force will be enemy air force on ground

4. To achieve this he advocates formation of an independent airforce, at par with army and navy. He pleads state to allocate separate budget for this and accord it the highest priority. Douhet also floats the idea of integral Auxiliary air forces for army and navy, who should remain under command to them and should be raised from their budget where as the Independent air force should only deal with targets to achieve command of air

5. Douhet then elaborates what should be the composition of this independent air force, and favours bombers, but supported by fighters. Douhet technically admits that it is not possible to have an ideal aircraft for all missions and instead of a compromise thus favours specialise aircraft

6. Douhet, also stresses the importance of air as a commercial tool, highlighting that Italy should control the commercial airways by encouraging the private airlines, he very prophetically states'' <sup>7</sup>soon all international mail will be an airmail ''. Douhet debates at length to highlight the advantage which a civil aviation

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<sup>4</sup> Douhet Guilio, *Command of Air*, P18

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, P29

<sup>6</sup> Ibid P 31

<sup>7</sup> Ibid P77

can give to military aviation in case of war. He thus goes to state that pilot training, technician training should be done by civil aviation to reduce expenditures.

### **Adolf Hitler**

Probably no other man after Douhet has defined and practiced aerial warfare than Hitler, for the reason that Douhet advocates the aerial concept of Clausewitz idea of 'Total War' and Hitler was the only military leader who had embraced this concept. It was he who raised Luftwaffe in 1935, an air force which was unique in its organisation and mission. Like RAF it was independent, yet it worked in harmony with the army and navy. It procured aircraft which were tailor-made for the whole concept of 'Lightning War' and with the aim of war itself. Hitler brought the concept of airborne troops as part of air force, thus air force was not meant only to destroy the cities or support the army, it was to conduct independent operations where it will not only have the command of air but will also hold the ground by itself, it had integral troops, two airborne divisions. It was this unique concept of third dimension which captured Narvik, a strategic objective despite British naval superiority, these troops later captured strategic Eben Emael fortification through glider operations, it was Luftwaffe which through Douhet concept of destroying city, burnt Rotterdam which forced Dutch to surrender and finally the capture of Crete and morale boosting rescue of Mussolini.

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## **Conclusion**

The Battle of Britain in 1940 was a realisation of Douhet doctrine; it was the most strategic battle of the WW2, as Churchill stated 'the fate of whole civilisation hanged around these few thousand airmen'. It was in 1942 that Churchill also raised army air corps, primarily an airborne division. The recapturing of Europe was again a unique event as all the previous theories were put to test, German cities were bombed, industrial heartland was destroyed and it were the airborne troops which spear headed the Normandy landing. Finally the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is testimony to the fact what Douhet stated almost twenty years ago, maximum destruction in least time and continuous suffering of the population through the air; it was air which finally brought the war to an end.

How Important Was Strategic Air Power in WW 2

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Special emphasis of Allies Bombing on Germany

**Major retired Aamir Cheema**

## How Important Was Strategic Air Power in WW 2, *Special emphasis of Allies Bombing on Germany*

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*This paper was written in the second term, and it highlights the validity/rejection of the Douhet Theory .*

An airpower is strategic when it is capable of achieving the strategic goals of the war, when its employment can bring strategic dividends which in military terms simply means , bringing an enemy to accept our will.

The strategic concept of air power derived from the independent air force of Trenchard in WW1, it had a simple notion that war can be won by destroying the peoples will to fight ,by destruction of means to wage a war. This was further cemented by the scientific calculation of Douhet's 'Command of Air' which stated how a whole city can be burned by using incendiary, explosives and biological bombs on a city, there by making the civilian suffered and therefore through them bringing the war to an earlier end rather than the prolong stalemate of trench warfare.

The concept of strategic air power strengthened from the RAF birth and teething period when out of sheer necessity it came up with the idea and doctrine of winning the next war at its own. RAF in <sup>8</sup>1928 identified oil refineries, ammunition factories, command and control centres, and railway networks as the strategic targets beyond the reach of ground forces and whose destruction will bring the enemy on its knees

It was in 1928 that the first official policy of RAF was spelled out by the Air Chief Marshall Trenchard, in his memorandum to the committee of chief of staff he stated <sup>9</sup>'The aim of RAF is to paralyse the enemy without defeat of his armed forces'. At that time the perceived enemy of Britain was France. One of the major causes of concern on British island was the theory that 'Bomber will always get through'. There was a general fear among masses which affected the politics, that airpower is going to bring devastation on them, it was the perspective in England. On the other hand it was also postulated that the best way to strike at the enemy is through the airpower and that too through bombers, thus bombers and bombing became synonyms with strategic airpower.

In 1934 only forty-two of the fifty-two squadrons ordered in 1923 were established with a first line strength of 488 aircraft, however in the same year in the wake of German threat ,RAF was to increase as rapidly as possible to seventy-five squadrons, <sup>10</sup>this programme was dominated by knock-out blow, for it was believed that air bombardment alone could win the war'.

### World War 2

The war started on 01 September 1939 when Germany invaded Poland, and on 4<sup>th</sup> September Britain and France declared war against Germany, before going any further it will be pertinent to have the relative strength of RAF and Luftwaffe, as the main battle was fought

<sup>8</sup> Air Chief Marshall Trenchard, *Memorandum to Chief of Staff committee* ,2<sup>nd</sup> May 1928

<sup>9</sup> Air Chief Marshall Trenchard, *Memorandum to Chief of Staff Committee* ,28 May 1928

<sup>10</sup> Roy Nesbit, *An Illustrated History of RAF* {London,Salamander,2002}p 74.

between these two and the relative war aims of both countries as without it, the impact of airpower will remain in a shroud

**Germany.** Created its independent air force Luftwaffe in 1935; it was a national socialist in nature. It was designed to fulfil the political aims of Nazi's through means of violence in third dimension. General Wever started an Ural Bomber project in 1935-36 to build a long range bomber to attack Soviet Union in depth, his death in an air crash in 1936 resulted in the abandon of the programme and Luftwaffe thus adopted a medium range bomber force programme. On the out break of war Luftwaffe possessed over 3600 front line aircraft with a manpower strength of half a million with another half a million in air defence which was also under Luftwaffe. The most distinct feature of Luftwaffe were its airborne troops.

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**England.** From 1935 onwards Germany was perceived as the real threat and therefore the bulk of RAF strength was supposed to be in bombers. The first four engines bomber 'Short Stirling' joined service in August 1940 and other medium bombers 'Avro Manchester' and 'Halifax Handely Page' joined in November 1940. thus at the beginning of war none of RAF bombers were capable of reaching Berlin 900 kilometres away. One important weapon to fight this menace was Radar, which in 1939 was able to detect approaching aircraft at a range of 100 miles from the coast, Britain had twenty such radar stations. <sup>11</sup>In May 1936 important structural changes took place in RAF, dividing it into five sectors corresponding to geographical areas in England, it also had five overseas commands as well. It had Bomber, Fighter and Coastal commands. In the same year RAF was authorised to increase its airfields from fifty-two to one hundred and twenty eight. In 1938 a balloon command was also raised for air defence barrages around cities, in 1939 the Fleet Air Arm was returned to admiralty. At the out break of war in September 1939, <sup>12</sup>RAF had 1,476 aircraft at home and another 435 aircraft were deployed abroad, it had a manpower strength of 118,000 with another 68,000 as reservists.

*At the outbreak of war none of the belligerents had the aircraft having range of over 800 Kilometres, therefore they all were medium range air powers. Thus air power can be grouped into long, medium or short range instead of tactical or strategic. A short range airpower can be still strategic if the perceived objectives are close by. The first four engine aircraft Halifax entered RAF service in December 1940*

### September 1939- May 1940

This was the first phase of the war in which Germany was able to roll over Poland, and then Belgium, Holland, Norway and finally France. It looks an impressive tally especially when it is kept in mind that Germany was a late starter in the arms race, the major reason for their success was in the concept of the modern war, where Luftwaffe gained the air supremacy and simultaneously supported the panzer formations in their blitzkrieg. Polish cities were bombed to break the will of the people and their ground forces and especially air force was virtually destroyed on ground.. On the hindsight one can say that Luftwaffe played a strategic part in the conquest of Poland, this was the first modern example of air force playing a decisive role in a victory. Thus a medium range air power was able to achieve strategic results.

<sup>13</sup>RAF had deployed ten squadrons out of its thirty-three bomber squadrons in France, these squadrons arrived in France on 2<sup>nd</sup> September 1939.

### May 1940

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p 77

<sup>12</sup> Ibid p 102

<sup>13</sup> Ibid p 102

Britain and France were at war with Germany, thus it is surprising that in this period nothing significant was done by them to stem this flow. <sup>14</sup>‘The war cabinet had realised that bomber command is incapable of delivering a knock-out blow... due to fear of German reprisal no bombing was conducted...RAF was tasked to attack the war ships and drop leaflet’. <sup>15</sup>The first British air mission was on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1939 in which fifteen Blenheim and fourteen Wellington bombers attacked the German naval bases in and around Wilhelmshaven resultantly only one hit was attained at the cost of seven bombers lost, similarly by the end of December 1939 three major air attacks were conducted without any strategic success but with an alarming loss of 39% of force. French air force was much stronger than Luftwaffe in terms of bombers yet it virtually remained idle.

### Battle of Britain

The battle around which the fate of a whole civilisation hangs around in the hand of few thousand men, and this is also the true definition of a strategic air power. Germany after its victories on mainland Europe gets frustrated at the defiance of Britain ,for its consistent resistance ,thus there is no other way except to either invade the island or to destroy it industrially and morally to an extent that it cease to exist as a formidable foe, and for both eventualities it is the air, from British point of view their whole existence revolves around this, can they face the wrath like Rotterdam.

The first phase of battle started in July 1940 with Luftwaffe attacking in a haphazard manner it lasted till 3<sup>rd</sup> August, the targets were naval harbour and convoys. Luftwaffe lost 364 bombers and fighters, RAF lost 203 fighters.

The real onslaught came in first week of August 1940 in which the RAF airfield were targeted in order to gain air supremacy, the high point reached on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1940 when Luftwaffe launched 1786 sorties in which over 500 bombers were employed, airfields in north and south of England were targeted, Luftwaffe lost seventy five aircraft as compared to thirty four RAF fighters. It was this day that inspired Churchill to say <sup>16</sup>‘Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few ‘. Luftwaffe lost 167 aircraft between two weeks from 10<sup>th</sup> August 1940 onwards as compared to 174 fighters of RAF.

The Third phase started on 24<sup>th</sup> August 1940 and this aimed around hitting RAF facilities around London, on the same night some ten bombers of Luftwaffe dropped <sup>17</sup>unintentional pay load over central London. Very next day some eighty British bombers attacked Berlin followed by more, leading Hitler, after threats that were ignored, to order reprisal raids on London. Between 7<sup>th</sup> September -13<sup>th</sup> November 1940 Luftwaffe flew over 12000 sorties and over 13000 civilians were killed and another 20,000 were injured in <sup>18</sup>London alone, yet morale held up surprisingly well...attack on coventry on 14<sup>th</sup> November killed 380 civilians and injured another 800’ It is at this point that the strategic air power assumes what it was designed from the beginning, to terrorise the population and to break the fighting will of the people, it all started accidentally but from this point onward there was no stopping and became a standard pattern in the rest of the war. Thus bombers became the symbol of aerial menace over cities and attacks over unarmed population became an integral part of strategic air power

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid p 102

<sup>15</sup> Scot Robertson ,*Development of RAF Strategic Bombing Doctrine 1919-1939*,{London,Praeger,1992} p xx11

<sup>16</sup> Ibid p 107

<sup>17</sup> Ibid p 109

<sup>18</sup> Roy Nisbet *An illustrated History of RAF*,{London,Salamander,2002} p 144

**Barbarossa**

Germany attacked Russia on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1941 and reached the gates of Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad, before being halted, once again the Luftwaffe played an important role in knocking out Red Air Force on ground, there by ensuring safe passages for panzer. It was however the decisive role that was played by Luftwaffe in the Russian counter attack in the winter that trapped over 90,000 German troops of General Walter Graf at Kholm and at <sup>19</sup>Demyansk, Luftwaffe was able to evacuate over 36000 wounded and also supplied over 30,000 tons of vital supplies, and 31000 troops were replaced, Luftwaffe lost 265 aircraft and Red Army lost 408 aircraft, but it was the first instant that an air force was able to prevent a catastrophic chaos caused by encirclement of enemy.

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On the other hand lack of a four engine long range bomber became a major strategic obstacle as Russian industrial power house was outside the reach of Luftwaffe bombers, thus Russia was able to feed its army with vital supplies that outpaced the destruction of German air and land firepower. Moscow was bombed but without any strategic impact. The fate of 6<sup>th</sup> Army at Stalingrad, finally hinged around the ability of the airpower to feed it and evacuate it but Luftwaffe was unable to do so, thereby lack of long range aircraft became one of the leading cause of German defeat and its final destruction in the hand of red army and air force

**Strategic Bombing Becomes Strategic Airpower**

Britain from the beginning of the war had no other means to strike back at Germany except through its airpower, which it did but with a heavy price and without any viable results. The pre war idea of winning a war purely with the help of a bomber force did not materialised. First the RAF did not had the means to deliver that and secondly the theme that bombers can defend themselves proved wrong and lastly the bombing was inaccurate. The <sup>20</sup>Butt Report of August 1941 probed the effectiveness of bombing and came to conclusion that the total number of sorties that reached within five miles of their target is less than one third and 49% of bombs fell in open field between May 1940-May 1941. The 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1941 bombing directive stated <sup>21</sup>'With a bomber force of 4000 ,they could destroy 43 German cities with a population of more than 1,00,000, Chief of Air Staff Sir Charles Portal argued that with such a force the RAF could win the war within six months'. <sup>22</sup>'The sum of experience since the out break of war had shown that the long established concepts of Air Staff and Bomber Command were badly in error'

On 14<sup>th</sup> February 1942, directive to Bomber Command emphasized <sup>23</sup>'Bombing campaign to be focussed on the morale of the enemy civil population and in particular of the industrial worker...Area bombing is to be preferred and targets are Essen, Cologne, Duisburg, Dusseldorf as priority...you accordingly authorised to employ your forces without restriction'. With this background of targeting cities and civil population along with erroneous bombing technique ,on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1942 Air Marshall Harris took command of Bomber Command and bombing of cities became synonym with strategic bombing and strategic air power and this is generally what is remembered of second world war.

Harris started with bombing of Baltic port of Lubeck, Essen 8-9<sup>th</sup> March 1942 and reached its zenith with thousand bombers bombing Hamburg in July 24-27, 1943 which resulted in 40,000 deaths and than vast attacks on Berlin itself started in the winter of 1943-44. RAF was using incendiary bombs along with normal bombs to create firestorms. In this

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<sup>19</sup> Harold Faber, *Luftwaffe an Analysis by Former Luftwaffe Generals*{London,Sigwick,1979} p 221

<sup>20</sup> Ibid p 623

<sup>21</sup> Ibid p 624

<sup>22</sup> Ibid 624

<sup>23</sup> Ibid 625

indiscriminate bombing, the whole cities were targeted although the <sup>24</sup>Casablanca conference {4 February 1943} and later allied Pointblank directives of 1943 laid the emphasis on precise military targeting. It was basing upon this directive that a strategic bombing in true sense was conducted against the Luftwaffe and German aircraft industry between March-July 1943 commonly known as 'Battle of Ruhr' the bombing accuracy had improved due to pathfinder techniques, the dams at Mohne and Eder were breached on the night of 16<sup>th</sup> May 1943. A total of 872 allied aircraft were lost in this battle. Yet there were no significant gains, therefore allied again resorted back to terror bombing.

Thus Battle of Ruhr was followed by Battle of Hamburg, in which thirty –three major attacks were conducted on that city and others between July and November 1943 involving 17000 bomber sorties. The only strategic target that was hit in this period was on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1943 when 597 four engine bombers hit Peenemunde research site of flying bombs <sup>25</sup> 'The effects were not so great as was imagined in London'

Battle of Hamburg was followed by Battle of Berlin, lasting from November 1943-March 1944, it involved sixteen major raids on Berlin and twelve other targets were also hit <sup>26</sup> 'Churchill encouraged it as it pleased Stalin...20,000 sorties were flown...Germany was not brought to her knees nor Berlin...morale of Bomber Command was shaken by losses and it was abandoned'

Americans were also busy in bombing the Japanese cities in similar manner. The first such raid took place on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1942 when sixteen B-29 bombers attacked Tokyo without any major damage, but it was the only way of retaliating. American bombing took lethal shape with the development of B-29 bomber, and in June 1944 USA was able to attack the Japanese mainland from China, but it was again based upon area bombing rather than precision bombing. It was only after capture of Marianas Island that USA had a secure base to launch attacks. There focus was again on civilian killing, on 24<sup>th</sup> February 1945 over 175 B-29 bombers bombed Tokyo with incendiary bombs destroying one square mile area and killing over fifty thousand humans.

### Analysis of Strategic Air Power in WW2

It was failure of strategic bombing rather the concept of terror bombing which was conducted ruthlessly for over two years and yet it failed to bring Germany on her knees that allies were forced to undertake the invasion of Western Europe. It is at this point that air power reverts to the basic principle that fulfilment of war aims requires a co-ordinated attack and efforts between three services and war cannot be won by purely terrorising the enemy population. Thus the air power was directed to achieve air superiority at the minimum, destroy Luftwaffe and ensure safe landings and consolidation of beach. On 15<sup>th</sup> April 1944 the air campaign started which lasted till the D-Day, French railway and communication centres and German field formations were hit, Air power played the decisive role in ensuring that beach heads are secured by the evening of 6<sup>th</sup> June. <sup>27</sup> However the defending German ground forces did not break under the colossal attack on the evening of 7<sup>th</sup> July 1944 a 457 allied bombers dropped their load...ten days later another 1,919 bombers delivered an even heavier attack, but the tenacious German somehow held out...four similar attacks were made before they were dislodged'.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid p 627

<sup>25</sup> Ibid p 630

<sup>26</sup> Ibid p 630

<sup>27</sup> Roy Conyers Nesbit, *An Illustrated History of RAF* {London, Salamander, 2002} p 221

The first half of WW2 ,from 1939-1942 is full of such events Norway,Eben Email, Crete, Dunkirk, Pearl Harbour, Demanyask where it was the air force that opened the chances for the ground forces and it was also the inability of air forces like Poland ,France and Russia that allowed their countries to be over run in days. This was a contest between two different strategies of aerial warfare, the Luftwaffe was integral to overall plans and it succeeded as long as it was in support of ground troops but when it acted as sole power it failed as at Dunkirk and Battle of Britain. It goes to its credit that it remained in a fighting state till the end ,despite serving on two fronts at full stretch. It was able to hold the banner high in Battle of Berlin.

At the outset there was no strategic air force in Europe except the Bomber Command of RAF, which based itself purely on bombers ,but this icon was soon shattered with devastating effects when it faced high rate of casualties, it resorted away from its pre war doctrine of day bombing to night bombing and it was here that they again failed to produce any significant damage, thus they adopted area bombing which had high casualty impact for the civilians, same tactics were adopted by the USA air force but they met the same fate loosing thirty six bombers out of a force of 293 on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1943 while attacking Schweinfurt and later loosing another sixty out of 291 aircraft in October same year. It was only after they had the fighter support that they were able to focus on the Luftwaffe and its oil related production. Thus this was a basic deviation from the doctrine of having command of air first and then launching the attacks .

### **Supremacy Over Navy**

The conduct of strategic air power during WW2 highlighted the reliance of navy over the air force for any safe conduct of operations. Other than Germany and Russia all other countries had the aircraft carriers. During the war USA lost 7,Uk lost 1 and Japan lost 11 aircraft carriers to air power alone. The sinking of Prince of Wales was a telling blow to British morale and it brought the hard fact that no naval operation can be undertaken without support of air power. The doctrine of naval blockade successfully employed during WW1 was not feasible in this war mainly due to the air power.The USA successful but human costly war in Pacific was only possible because of immense air power that it employed,during battle of Leyte Gulf it had 1400 naval aircraft in support

### **Role of Strategic Air power in The defeat of Germany**

In the last three years of war, the air force and especially the concept of strategic airpower, revolves around, bombing of cities. Dresden, Essen, Hamburg, Berlin, Germany did not collapsed because of these bombing .The one indirect effect was that it forced the Luftwaffe to divert its fighting force away from the Eastern Front to counter this menace. It was only in the last year of the war that real impact started coming up in the form of loss of oil production and cease of industry. Analytically the air power played more significant role in the defeat of Germany while supporting the ground operations rather than mere strategic bombing

<sup>28</sup>**Table 1,German War Material Out Put 1940-44**

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Aircraft	10,200	11,000	14,200	25,000	39,600
Tanks	1600	3800	6300	12,100	19,000
Artillery	6300	7800	13600	38000	62300
U-Boats	76	218	238	279	229
Oil{ 1000 met tons	4652	5542	6368	7508	5412

<sup>28</sup> Jhon and Ned, *Strategy and Tactics of War* {London,Cavendesh,1979} p 184

The morality issue of bombing is another factor to be reviewed in the out come of the war, the war it self was between good and evil and if good resorts to the tactics of evil to beat him than good is no more good and that is why the second and third generation of the survivors of evil have this feeling about the good.

The concept from first air raid over London in 1914 through Trenchard's tenure along with Douhet's doctrine coupled with the fear that bomber will always get through was focussed on winning a war without ever going to the war itself, it revolved around the myth of destroying enemy cities and industrial base in order to compel him to own will. There is nothing illogical in this concept but the lessons of WW2 brought out the fact that at no stage was it ever implemented in true sense ,Germany failed to destroy the industrial base of England and so were allies ,because had they been able to do so after almost three years of bombing and having air supremacy in the last two years than the Battle of Bulge would have never taken them by surprise, which it did and caused the maximum American casualties in European theatre of war. Hitler was able to communicate till the very end with his forces thus bombing failed to even destroyed that vital link which it had aimed from inception, had it succeeded in doing so than Goering might have been able to negotiate a peace term with allies but since Hitler was able to communicate thus it never materialised

Germany alone suffered 2,050,000 civilian casualties along with a further 2,010,000 people wounded or permanently disabled, Japan suffered 393,400 killed and 275,000 permanently wounded or missing civilian population, United Kingdom suffered 148,000 including 60,000 killed USSR had 6,700,000 civilian casualties and USA had nil. The percentage of UK soldiers having battle wounds from aerial bombs is 75% as compared to 10% from land mines and booby traps

<sup>29</sup>**Table 2 RAF and USAAF bomb tonnages on Germany 1939-1945**

Tons Bombs	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Total
RAF	31	13,033	31,504	45,561	157,457	525,518	191,540	964,644
8 US Air Force	---	----	-----	1561	44,165	389,119	188,573	623,418

<sup>30</sup>**Table 3 RAF Bombing Sorties and Losses 1939-1945**

	Sorties	Losses
Night	297,663	7,449
Day	66,851	876

### American Victory Over Japan

<sup>29</sup> Jhon Ellis ,*World War 2 Data Book* {London,BCA,2005} p 233

<sup>30</sup> Ibid p 234

In Asia strategic air power did brought the war to an end if not won it exclusively ,it was achieved through a brutal, merciless and mass aerial bombing of sixty three Japanese cities within a span of seven months in which over half a million Japanese were killed and another half a million made home less. It started in June 1944 and lasted till August 1945.It was what Douhet had always propagated maximum destruction in minimum time, burning of cities, mass deaths, catastrophic apocalypse ,without any thought of mercy. This is what war is all about, an act of violence. The major difference between European theatre and this was in the sheer number of aircraft and relatively small size of Japan

**Table 4USAAF Bombing of Japan June 44-August 45**

	Sorties flown	HE Bomb Tons	Incendiary Bomb Tons	
1944	2102	7247	1817	
1945	26724	56943	103,629	
Total	28,826	64,190	105,446	

In the end it was tragic but a hard reality that it was bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki from air that forced Japan to surrender.

### **Conclusion**

Can this war be won by bombing alone or through air power? This was a common question in Britain during the war itself and none other than Air Marshall Trenchard states <sup>31</sup>‘I do not know, I have never claimed that we can. Equally I have never suggested that we cannot’. In this phrase lies the whole history of air power and its impact on the outcome of second world war. The war could have been won exclusively by the air power ,provided it had the command of air and during initial period once Luftwaffe had the Air Supremacy or Command of Air in Polish and later in western Skies it was able to achieve strategic results and when RAF challenged it and reduced it to air superiority than Luftwaffe was unable to achieve anything at its own and same hold true for RAF and allied air effort, they were unable to achieve Command of Air till the war entered its final phase. Same hold true for Pacific and Asian Theatre where Japanese air power was able to establish the Red Sun over allies.

Douhet was adamant that the first priority of an air force is in achieving command of air and that has to be achieved through the destruction of enemy air force on ground and only than any further task is to achieved, RAF on the other hand since 1920 under Trenchard had the doctrine of attacking the industrial targets first and tackling the enemy air force in the air. Nothing of both happened in this war, RAF for fear of reprisal did not attacked Germany and Germany did not attacked RAF bases for at least nine months during which RAF was able to increase its fighter strength which finally played a key role in Battle of Britain.

The two distinct doctrines remained prevailed in this war, one was that of Luftwaffe which was primarily a medium range air power and supported the ground troops,the other was that of RAF which was again a medium range air power yet it visualised it self as the long range and had the idea of winning the war at its own and that too primarily on the strength of its bombing, once it realised that it cannot achieved this because of pre war faulty strategy of bombers getting through and that too in day light and defending themselves also, it resorted to night bombing and after failing to hit any worth while target due to inaccuracy of precision target it resorted to area target and thus took terror bombing shape

In 1943 a total of 200,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Germany nearly five times as much as in 1942,yet German armament production overall rose by 50% in 1943.The German fighter aircraft production after a drop of 25% in August 1943 again rose to new heights in 1944.

<sup>31</sup> *Four Essays of Trenchard,Royal Norwegian Air Force Journal Volume 17*

<sup>32</sup>Table 5 German defence production 1940-1945

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944
Aircraft	10,200	11,000	14,200	25,000	39,600
Tanks	1600	3800	6300	12,100	19,000
Artillery	6300	7800	13600	38000	62300
U-Boats	76	218	238	279	229
Oil{ 1000 met tons	4652	5542	6368	7508	5412

The German generals who were captured after the war do admit like Field Marshall Kesserling, 'that Allied strategic and terror bombing behind German lines along with tactical interdiction were the three major causes of German defeat in WW2'. Field Marshall Rundstedt stated 'I believed that the greatest factor in Germany's defeat was the strategic bombing by the allied air force particularly during Ardennes offensive... destruction of railway'. Field Marshall Model in his 1<sup>st</sup> November 1944 orders admit 'Hostile air force has made movement to the rear impossible'.

Thus the major conflict that remained persistent through out the war from RAF perspective was the reliance on bombing, and expecting too much from this, probably it was inter service rivalry that propelled this drive ,because it kept on shifting its priorities and there seems to be no logic in bombing of Dresden in the last days of war. Thus it becomes a fact that it was not just the terror and indiscriminate bombing of cities with fire bomb that resulted in the defeat of Germany but it was when strategic bombing was concentrated in support of field army plan and concentrating on the destruction of enemy army that it becomes decisive in the defeat.

Winning of a war is a combine effort and it was amply proved in the European Theatre of war, air power failed to win at its own but played a decisive role in the out come of war, it protected own ships and destroyed enemy ships, it kept rival nation in a state of fear, it supplied own troops when they were encircled and evacuated when they were besieged, it destroyed vital communication and infra structure that oils war machinery yet it failed to bring the war to an early end at its own. From British point of view, the whole fate of civilisation was in their hand{RAF} and it's a fact that never was owed by so many to so few and from German aspect, never were so few hated{Bomber Command} by so many in the history of mankind.

The term air power was first used by H.G Wells in his 1908 novel <sup>33</sup>'The War in The Air'. Winston Churchill admits that <sup>34</sup>'Air power is the most difficult of all forms of military force to measure or even to express in precise terms'. RAF accepted <sup>35</sup>'The ability to use platforms operating in or passing through the air for military purposes' the centre for air power studies defines it as 'Air power is the sum total of a nation's aviation and related capabilities...it is an extension of the war to the third dimension...air power represents the ability to project military force in the third dimension'.

Airpower is thus more than mere air craft, it includes everything that relates to air, air craft, bombs ,para troopers, gliders, aircraft factories, air fields, pilots. balloons.

<sup>32</sup> Pimlott and Willmott, *Strategy and Tactics of War* ,{London,Cavendish,1979} p 184

<sup>33</sup> Air Vice Marshall Tony Mason,*Air Power A Centennial Appraisal* {London,Brassey,1994}p 1

<sup>34</sup> Ibid p 2

<sup>35</sup> Ibid p 2

**Working as Security Officer - Camphill**

I am working as a patrol guard in this area since December 15<sup>th</sup> and today is 15<sup>th</sup> February ,I normally come here on week end and at times I have been doing the job in between also,my duty starts at 1700 and finishes at 0200

It is a residential area in the south of Glasgow city next to Queens Park on Lexington avenue,it consist of around five hundred families living in flats.the flats are around twenty years old they are made of brick but not painted or plastered,only two blocks are more than three floors rest all are generally double storeyed

Area is bounded on its one side by a main road and on its front is a small road and behind is another small road but there is a fence there and on last side there is another block of flats

Somebody asked me once ,are they rich people? And my answer was in England you are either rich or poor,so these people are not poor but yet they are not rich as well,if cars are the datum level to gauge any body's wealth then these are a mixtures of people,there are BMW,Mercedez,and ford fiesta,Suzuki alto,Skoda,and few plumbing vans as well

The whole complex is divided into almost twelve blocks named as Bute court,Alisa,Lethington,Mooray,Gloucester and so on,they are three roads that leads into this complex from the front and a path way as well.The demography of the people is majority white,very few Asians and even fewer east Europeans although they are difficult to judge in that way.The age group of people is also mixed young ,middle age and old and some are very old,I will come to that fact later,most are families,there are children as well but as there number is low in overall city thus they are not in big numbers and neither are teenagers,the area is not very huge but neither it is small,there is one medium size rather small park in the middle and there are almost small lawn in front of every block,trees are in numbers,flats are small maybe one to two bed ,a kitchen a lounge a store and and a toilet,lifts are there in only two blocks,it generally takes me at a very leisurely pace to complete one round in zig zag manner around forty minutes

Shall I start from beginning or from present,well its 1950 15<sup>th</sup> February now and I am waiting for police to come because one of the garage door was opened when I came here at 1700 hours and the garages are separated from others with a thick fly proofing and I duly informed my supervisor about this and now he is here and we both are waiting for the police to come,this is the first time that I am waiting for police other wise nothing has ever happened at least in my duty,yes last week two window glasses were broken in the ground floor flats and I did not took notice,however the system here works in a different manner

The company for which I work AAA security has a contract for providing security to this premises and is hired by the people of these flats,the guard comes here everyday from 1700-0200 hours and in day time there is a caretaker as well,not that it is a crime infested area rather people are generally more scared than they should be,but its their preogative

On my first day I was shown the area by the supervisor who is a Indian ,student rather an engineer and working now as supervisor ,there are fourteen pointsmand guarding is electronic,I have one electric device called Co=Guard,its hand hekd and I have to touch it with these fourteen points that are spread all over the cpmplex,the touching points are about a mobile phone size and placed on trees and walls,the supervisor took me around and showed it,I couldnot remember all of them and their location,between each complete patrol and next one there is a break of twenty minutes and I have a room with heater ,radio and tea maker,company also gave a mobile which has to be in pocket while on patrol

My very first night was spend in locating the points,I was able to remember about nine points and the rest I had a general idea like trees,hedges and and a fence.I practically searched touched and scanned every tree and was able to locate three more still two more were left which I found next night,I read the instructions which were in guard room,there was a mark difference in what I had been groomed in army and what was here.In army you can always have an excuse and someone else to blame and most importantly there is always someone to cover you up and equally important ,someone to let you down as well but is was pure commercial,I am being paid in terms of hours and there is specified things that I have to perform,nothing more nothing less,I cannot say today it is snowing so I can have five minutes more break and neither anyone expects me to stay even a minute more than specified even if I sense danger

It was a cold night and I remember my mother because had she known this fact that her only son is on patrol on a cold night I am sure she would not have taken a blanket herself also ,such is her love and on the other hand my wife would have prayed for more rain and cold ,just to get even with me

When I walked on patrol I had no feeling for the people who were living in the flats,it was weird because never in my life had I been void of feeling while on duty,at least the regimental pride was always there if nothing else,but here all I had was my personal pride,I remember the time when I first went out to check a guard on my first day in army in Sargodha almost quarter of century before and with same mental feeling I walked,I was a duty officer checking the guards in a cantonment and that's all.The major difference was that these guards were electronic ,I cannot ask them 'how is your morale,how is your family young man,when did you last went on leave,what you had in dinner, I hope sergeant major isnot that tough on you and neither could they complain about the food,the heating arrangements,the number of duties or similar suggestion,I started enjoying the duty as it provided me time to think of my past,moreover I considred myself lucky as now I had the opportunity to see and observe the locals from close range,I can stare at a flat,I can stand at the crossing for as much time as I like I can walk at the backyard of the flats and I have no hesitation to admit that I enjoyed this little power in an alien land

I kept a diary with me and in those twenty minutes of break I would write what I felt. I was reading Commandant of aushwitz an auti biography and found it absorbing thus on patrol I would mentally think about that , I met an old English lady of around seventy plus and she asked me 'are you our new guard and I replied affirmative and she answered 'people say you are good. My morale went sky rocketing

I had one problem and that was I did not knew where is the toilet,neither Nomal showed me any one and neither I asked him abnout this,but now the cold along with couples of tea and I had an urged to pee but where,on my top there was a birthday party going on and from voices I could make out that it of a woman and not that of a child,moreover the ladies would stand in the window to smoke,had it be Pakistan I would not have felt any major problem but here in Scotland I knew from my course on security that it is an offense to pee in

open and secondly the company would not have liked it a bit to know that I was peeing in open but I had to pee, thus there is a dark patch about thirty meters from the guard room and grassy as well so I walked as I am there to see the area and then I opened the zip and peed, but it got on my mind as to what will happen if I have upset stomach, I am casual by nature and never really bothered about this aspect of life but here it was a different ball and game

The second major aspect was that I had bought a tin of corned beef and as I tried to open it I cursed Brazilian because it went through my hand like a knife, I had bleeding which seemed unstoppable, luckily I had a white handkerchief and wrapped it around but it hardly worked

The night went on and I regularly patrolled, it was pre Christmas time and many of the houses were decorated with trees and other had few lights, now from an observer point of view the question which I debated in my patrol was, why there are some having lights and other not, any kind of question can arise in a guard's mind and this decorations of the flats remained my constant point of focus, I will with the passage of time observed certain more houses getting trees but overall their number was much less,

The other lesson which I learnt on that night was the value of money, it's not easy to earn money, probably this was the first time in my life that I was earning money through a hard work, I don't consider army life as hard work it was fun and money was never a part of army life but here life revolves around money and it helped me in understanding certain cultural aspects,

### ***Alfred Thayer Mahan***

Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan was born in 1840 to a military history professor, teaching at West Point USA, in 1859 he graduated from Naval Academy and served the Union Navy in Civil War. He became Captain in 1885 and had a turbulent tenure of command. In 1886 he became an instructor at Naval War College and his lectures were first published in the form of a book in 1896 'Influence of Maritime Power on World History 1660-1790'. This book made him famous and although he wrote certain other naval books but it remained the one that really influenced the world and it is the one which is the subject under study.

Mahan did not brought any new idea, he just through the examples of naval history highlighted the importance of maritime power and drew the conclusion that in fact it is the control of the sea that has enabled the England to built and protect an empire and if England has to be defeated than it is through the naval battle that it can be done so. Mahan being an American had the desire to see his native country having the same place on earth as being enjoyed by the British, therefore through the British naval history of the time he highlighted this fact for American people. Mahan also went deep into history to point out that for maritime powers it is the Naval strategy that dictates the national policy and not vice versa. One key factor of his doctrine is, that it revolves around certain basic considerations to become a maritime power and foremost is geography therefore an island, the culture of people, their inherent naval abilities and form of government

Mahan very candidly states that <sup>36</sup> 'Hence theories about the naval warfare of the future are almost wholly presumptive'

### **First World War**

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<sup>36</sup> Alfred Mahan, The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, {London: Hamlyn, 1980}, P14

WW1 was fought in Europe between the Germany and England, mainly over the control of European politics and power, to many historians the major cause of this war was the arms race between the two nations , mainly the construction of the Dreadnought type battleships. Kaiser wrote to his friend that <sup>37</sup>‘I am not reading but devouring Mahan’s book’. It would be wrong to assume that Kaiser built his Navy around Mahan idea ,but it would be fair to assume that ,Germany must have been given the food for thought that ,it is through the naval supremacy that it can break the British hegemony over the world. It must be remembered that in 1900-1914 the navy was the most technical advance equipment of military and in case of British the most important rather the one on which its survival depends.

The first Dreadnought was commissioned by Royal Navy in 1906,it was the heaviest battleship having 12 inches guns and could engage the enemy from a distance of over 8000 yards,it was a technological and strategic breakthrough. The Russo-Japanese war of 1905 had amply demonstrated the effectiveness of Mahan doctrine ,when the Czar’s fleet was destroyed by the Japanese in a decisive naval battle, the kind of which Mahan was promoting, and the result sealed the fate of the war. Similar concept was being evaluated by the Royal Navy and the Kaiser.

Royal Navy traditionally retained an superiority of almost 2.1 over the rivals ,but the speed of Kaiser naval build up was fast decimating this ratio. Germany by 1910 had the 6 Dreadnought to Britain 10 and announced in 1912 that it will construct 35 more ships in near future,<sup>38</sup> ‘by 1914 Royal Navy had twenty nine such capital ships and thirteen building to the eighteen built and nine building of Germany’a threat to Royal Navy supremacy and in fact the very survival of the Empire.

Royal Navy according to Mahan doctrine should have gone for the first strike, the British policy should have been dictated by the Mahan Doctrine, where the naval necessity and strategy should have been the dominating factor, but it did not happened that way. Rather the Britian waited for the Kaiser to have the first strike on land and then declared war and put its high sea fleet for an eventual blockade of the Germany in North Sea. Britain thus came on a negative policy ,where it was defending the sea instead of attacking the Kaiser’s fleet. From German perspective, they did not went for a total naval war, they restricted their U-Boat warfare against the merchant ships. Thus the only major conflict took place after two years of war in Jutland in 1916,where the opposing fleets had a naval skirmish. In the end, Britain won the war but had to pay a colossal amount in terms of human lives, yet it was her supremacy of sea that eventually played a role in German accepting armistice.

## Second World War

WW2 was different from WW1 and also from the Mahan idea of naval warfare, the very concept of Air had its profound effects on the naval strategy.

Mahan had never thought that a fleet can be detected by anything other than a ship in the open sea, a battleship can be destroyed from the air as well, an island can be captured without using the naval fleets, ports can be destroyed without using battleships.

After WW1 The major thrust of naval forces focused on to the aircraft carriers ,Britain built the first one Argus and then Eagle in 1920 but it were the Japanese who built the

<sup>37</sup> E.M.Earle,ed,Makers of Modern Strategy{Princeton,Princeton University Press,1952}P 442

<sup>38</sup> Liddell Hart, History of World War 1914-1918 {London,Faber and Faber,1930}P 64

first dedicated aircraft carriers in 1922, followed by USA. The Washington peace conference of 1922 virtually limited the scope of future naval warfare. Thus when the war started 'England had 10 aircraft carriers whereas Japan had 10, USA had 8, France had one and Germany had nil'<sup>39</sup>.

Yet Germany was able to capture the strategic port of Narvik in April 1940 without bothering much about the Royal Navy by simply using the airborne troops, later French Navy despite enjoying an overwhelming numerical superiority over the Reich was unable to stop the German juggernaut overrunning France within a fortnight. Dunkirk miracle seem to have nothing to do with Royal Navy, yet it demonstrates the impact of naval command in the overall scenario of the war. The capture of Crete by the German paratroopers again highlights the naval vulnerability against aircraft.

### **Pacific Theatre**

The real Mahanian naval battles took place in Pacific between the USA and the Japan. In fact it was what Mahan had been all preaching about and Japan fulfilled all the pre requisite of the Mahan's England of 17<sup>th</sup> Century. An island, maritime culture and vulnerable commerce to USA navy. Japan did what Mahan had been stressing, it was their naval strategy of securing flanks against the USA that forced Japan to launch the pre-emptive strike at Pearl harbour on 7<sup>th</sup> December 1941, but Japan fell short of objectives, it could not destroy the fleet and importantly it did not occupy the island itself, and this very island later became the base of USA strike force.

Japan later tried to rectify this fault when Admiral Yamamoto was able to convince the military to accept a decisive battle against the USA in Midway in May 1941, it was in line with the Mahan concept to have a decisive naval battle. Here the Fog Of War came into being and Japanese naval codes were known to the USA and in the end Japan could not achieved a result in its favour, rather from this day onward USA achieved the advantage and the initiative {Perhaps this explains the wisdom of Admiral Jerricoe in not accepting a decisive battle in WW1}. Japan went on to fight for another two years before the final battle of Leyte Gulf in 1944, virtually sealed its fate.

Sadly American president Harry Truman did not wait for the naval blockade to work and used the most heinous weapon, the atomic bombs to end the war, thereby depriving the US Navy of Mahan doctrine fruit.

### **Present Relevance**

Mahan himself had warned that it is foolish to resemble the past battles with the future, as the weapons changes and so does their ranges and power of destruction. Mahan's concept of navy and decisive battle revolves around where a large and powerful fleet not only defends the island but also imposes an blockade on the continental powers and thereby ensures the trade and sea commerce. It is a fact that all along Mahan was promoting the case for a strong American Navy, highlighting the example of Britain as case study thus his doctrine should be primarily evaluated only in case of America and Britain.

Falkland War of 1982 very much supported Mahan's doctrine when Royal Navy had to sail 8000 miles to defend its territories, and it was pity that Royal Navy was recently

<sup>39</sup> Jhon Ellis, The World War 2 Data Book {London, Aurum, 2003} P 245.

shrunk due to government budgetary steps yet the very sinking of Argentina's Belgrano by Royal Navy outside the Economic Trade Zone highlights the Mahan theory, where naval strategy dictates the policy.

American Navy is today the most powerful navy in the world and is an instrument to impose USA policy in the world, as is demonstrated in the two Gulf Wars and this is what precisely Mahan had been pleading all about. Without a strong navy or without command of sea, USA would not have been in a position to bring the troops halfway from the globe. Any nation which wants to compete with USA for its disproportionate share in world wealth has to counter its navy. The way this is done is a different subject, it is not mandatory that a navy has to be destroyed or neutralised only through the battleships or submarines it can be done from space as well but the underlying fact is, a nation has to either command the sea or deny it to USA.

### Conclusion

Mahan doctrine is as valid today as it was a hundred years, but the important thing to remember is that this doctrine was meant for America thus it does not hold good for majority of the nations who are land orientated and who have based their economic, foreign and military policy on certain other principles notably on Clausewitz and Douhet.

To judge Mahan's influence on both great wars was positive or negative is an unending debate, but from the preceding paragraphs it is obvious that Royal Navy and United Kingdom did survive the war by adhering to Mahan's concept thus it was positive for them and negative for Germans because they simply overlooked the fact that they are not an island and if they want to defeat England then they should either have had the navy to match them or concentrate on land war, thus it was negative for them. In WW2 the USA and Japan both followed Mahan in letter and spirit but in the end that factor of chance and luck helped USA.

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## Week End Nights

For long the concept of weekend is associated with west,in army life and in civil life in Pakistan it was always stressed that 'look at whites they work all week and enjoy on weekends' what does it implies,I can throw some light purely from what I have seen students and how I saw as a working person and how I myself went through it.

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There are clubs almost on every corner along with pubs and university it self has two clubs as well

The week end starts from Friday afternoon and lasts till Sunday night,a normal working pattern is from almost seven in morning till five in evening and I have seen in winter how people starts early in morning and virtually ends late in dark,one point that I want to highlight here is that I seldom saw anyone working late after working hours ,here all work is paid in terms of hours thus every minute becomes countable.The professors in university seldom go teaching beyond the prescribed two hours of class or in my case beyond 1700 hours,there was no such thing 'see me after the class ' 'or I will explain you after the class' neither in administrative departments I saw anyone gossiping or sitting idle,not even in pubs.And after work almost everyone can be seen walking towards their homes through underground or buses or through their own transport.majority would be seen carrying heavy shopping bags and that includes old ladies and men as well,The Glasgow or this west end is a hilly area thus it is constant up and down walk.The students themselves are busy in studies almost all week thus Friday night is a welcome break.

In Queen Margaret residence from my window I would see girls getting ready for the party,they could be seen rushing to various room sprobably discussing what to wear etc etc and at nine o clock ,they all dressed in fancy clothes which irrespective of how cold the weather is ,always flashy and bright with high sandals.If it is raining than they would call taxi and giggling would jump into that,on other days some would walk and other would go by taxi.

*Within the club*, well I have visited Oran Mor night club a few times thus I can say from that experience,the club opens its doors at 2300 hours and almost same is pattern in all clubs with little variation.There is an entrance fee which in case of Oran Mor is eight pounds and again it varies in all other for instance Viper has free entry till ten hundred hours and than six pounds after that,university clubs Hive has two pounds .

### Chaplaincy at Turnbull

I first went to catholic chaplaincy on easter night with martin speilvogel.I was at his flat smoking ganja with Ashoy when martin said that he is going to chaplaincy for easter service, I had been going to the protestant church on university avenue thus martin invited me ,but after watching us smoking for an hour he changed his mind and was reluctant in taking me along,I finally said to him that any one can go there and I am going ,I was in track suit and never wanted to attend the service in this dress but there was no option,myself and Martin we both went there,the doors were closed but as I pushed the door I found it open so I tucked in where as martin remained outside and came in after an hour.

Now you have to be stoned to fully comprehend what I saw ,coming from the flat walking along the street where there were cars,people ,pubs,dogs,street lights,traffic lights,girls,boys and so on and discussing second world war with Martin,now what I see is a hall lit with candle lights,where at the altar are three people clad in medieval dress,having some brass utensils in their hand which they were waving ,there were few choir girls standing on one side of the hall and singing some psalms in their beautiful voice,there was a live band

as well,I was intoxicated in the scene,what the hell is going on,how can any one in twenty first century can believe that few drops of water can purify their soul,I saw students who were attending Phds in physics and biology and here they were sitting with blank faces with fear in their eyes,I saw little toddlers sitting enchanted with their mothers and in certain cases grand mothers holding them ,patting them and whispering in their ears not to make any noise.I was sitting in the last row,I was peacefull because although I ghad been attending the churches in Pakistan ,rather I went to the church with my family on last Christmas in Lahore ,yet in Pakistan I always had a fear of a bomb attack or someone all of a sudden opening the door and firing a burst of kalashnikov,these hallucinations do occur once you are high on grass.being an atheist I saw the proceedings from a historical and philosophical angle,I tried to read the mind of the people,here was the cream of western civilisation the most educated most advanced people and yet when it comes to beliefs they were as primitive as any one on this god's earth,I could not distinguish them from the illiterate people of my native village who belives that when whirlwind moves then it's a jinn who is moving ,who donot travel at night lest they are attacked by the withches and where old grannies still tell the young kids that if it so happen then donot look back or you will turn into a stone.

### **American Reliance on Air Power.**

*In the course, the student is required to write research papers, the topic ae choosen among a list given by the supervisor basing upon the themes that have been taught. It was taught by Professor Philips O Brian. The study pattern took me towards picking up issues which are more close to my country thus this inclination towards the Afghanistan War and in it the American Way of Warfare which is heavily relied upon airpower.*

Americans have a romance with air, they utilised air balloon in their civil war and later in 1899<sup>i</sup> conference at Haig it was again an American Captain Crozier who resisted the idea of including air balloons as part of arms control and finally it was two Americans who became the first human to fly heavier than air machine. The first WW highlighted the third dimension domination and subsequently Italian Giulio Douhett and American Billy Mitchell propagated its all out use in future. What American Admiral Mahan had been stressing in late 19<sup>th</sup> century that a strong navy is essential for American domination of the world was altered by Mitchell who prophesised 'sea power is almost a thing of past....more economical and effective aircraft has become a symbol of national power'<sup>ii</sup>.This was validated by the strategic bombing of WW2 and finally the collapse of Japan through the use of nuclear weapon dropped from air .However the debate that whether airpower alone can win any war raged till the end of cold war during which America engaged in a multiple of military activity,the Berlin air lift, Korea and Vietnam, yet Americans failed to achieve an outright victory in any of these conflicts. In mid seventies and early eighties the idea of air land battle was envisaged by the Pentagon which centred around European theatre, it conveyed a joint co-ordinated attack utilising air force and army on a narrow front.

Purely from academic point its difficult to decide what airpower represents in case of America, because its military system is different from rest of world military, its army has more aircraft than air force, navy has fourteen aircraft carrier groups, marines has own aircraft the F-18s,both navy and air force possessed cruise missiles, Central command explains airpower as air campaign in which 'cruise missiles, fighters, and bombers are utilised'<sup>iii</sup> thus it includes USN ,US marines, and USAF but excludes the use of army and this paper will revolve around the scarlet thread of whether airpower has become a tool for implementation of USA policy around the globe especially after the end of cold war .

The first gulf war which started with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 1990 was the first major challenge for the American military after the debacle of Vietnam, which

had altered the American strategic culture fundamentally in a sense that human casualties especially of American souls became paramount and no political party could survive a term who suffered such. Iraq in August 1990 was in a position after capturing Kuwait to invade Saudi Arabia and become master of worlds 20% of oil thus the first action of President George Bush was to send 48 F-15C<sup>iv</sup> air superiority fighters from Virginia to Dahrn , they took almost fifteen hours to reach there where as the navy stated they need almost fifteen days to do so. The arrival of American aircraft gave an assurance to the allies that America is with them and that was possible through the air power. By 23 August there were over 437 USA<sup>v</sup> aircraft in the theatre which later peaked over 1000. The heavy American ground forces started arriving in the theatre by end October 1990 although the lead elements of 82<sup>nd</sup> airborne division were in position by 8<sup>th</sup> August .This is was the turning point in the American military history, had the Iraqi decided to invade the Saudi Arabia the overall complexion of the war might have been different but it was the air power that held them back and when air campaign started on 17<sup>th</sup> January 1991 in first few hours the American led air armada destroyed the command and control structures of Iraq and it lasted till 26<sup>th</sup> February when ground forces moved and ended the campaign in 100 hours with less than a platoon casualties in a over half million army.

The B-52 bombers hit Iraqi republican guards every hour, twenty four hours a day for entire war. The coalition flew over 110,000 sorties through 3380 aircraft, they flew 2388 sorties on the first night, hitting over 400 targets,210,000 unguided bombs were dropped,9342 laser guided bombs and 5448 surface to air missile,2039 anti radiation missiles and 333 cruise missiles were fired coalition lost 47 aircraft and 21 helicopters<sup>vi</sup>. The air force had virtually reduced the Iraqi forces to a level where Saddam accepted the initial American terms but resisted to leave his equipment in Kuwait and for that the ground war was conducted. Congress in December 1990 was told to be ready to face up to 100 aircraft loss in 20.000 sorties because Iraq had over 700 combat aircraft and over 11000 missiles and 8500 anti aircraft guns and Baghdad was more protected than any target in Eastern Europe but in the end there were less than 300 American casualties none from USAF.

It was monumental affair not many of the world population had seen war especially the post Vietnam generation and post WW2 generation in Europe and same holds true for middle eastern and Asian for the fact that by this time world had become a global village thanks to the satellite and information technology where people of all shades of life followed this war minute by minute, they saw the laser bomb penetrating through the ventilation shaft of Iraqi national defence centre thus blinding the Iraqi forces<sup>vii</sup>.The war according to Clausewitz must have an aim and that aim is peace thus USA president and commander in chief has to weigh the balance between policy and war, air war thus presented that ability that represents instant reaction and affirmation of words spoken and not merely bluff and acts as a coercion fact on the intended states.

America had always tried to portray itself as the righteous nation where real politicks has been shrouded into vanity but the clout of nuclear bombing and napalm bombing during Vietnam had polluted this image and this picture is more strong and vivid in under developing states, therefore this air power of precision ,lethality but sparing civilians and subsequently giving the evidence in the form of almost live chain of events helped a lot in public relation. There were already wide spread demonstration across Asia against this invasion in Pakistan the newly elected democratic government was about to collapse due to difference with army chief on supporting the USA, similar was the state in Jordan and Egypt .

On military side the role of air power is debatable ,on one hand it was air power that kept knocking out the Republican guards yet in the end it was the equipment of Iraqi army that caused coalition invasion. One major fundamental academic and doctrinal aspect was brought out by USAF General Horner ,highlighting the terminology of tactical, operational and strategy ‘To airman it is meaningless...Airpower is essentially very simple aircraft can hit target with precision quickly and over a wide area’<sup>viii</sup>.This was a dramatic change from the traditional concept of tactical and strategic air force. The heavy bombers like B-52G and F-117 operated from Diego Garcia where as all other fighters, tactical fighter-bombers, air

superiority, air borne electronic, air borne early warning aircraft that numbered over three thousand operated from Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. The munitions for over 500 hundred USAF aircraft in the instant reaction was transported by air force it self in its C-5 .it became clear that airpower is not merely fighter or bombers but also to have their own aerial fuel tanker like KC-135,electronic command centre like E3 AWACs. Use of bases in Turkey like Incerlik made it possible to attack Iraq simultaneously from north and south.

This Gulf war became an evolution in military affairs, the world has not seen a superpower in a major war ,the impact of technology was felt as it was felt in WW2 in the shape of radar so was global positioning system{GPS}.War basically reflects the strategic military culture of a nation and this air power became the symbol of that culture, a symbol of technology along with a dash of romance and chivalry. Aviators are a different breed 'I guess we are considered ourselves a different breed of cat, right in the beginning. We flew through the air and other people walked on the ground:it was as simple as that' – famous American aviator General Spaatz<sup>ix</sup>.

The reliance of America on air power is also related to the development of computer in 1970's with the advent of Microsoft in 1977 the USA was ushered into a new era and this technology offered most to the aircraft and related weapons, Airpower is not just a bomber or hundreds of bombers it envisaged multiple functions ranging from electronic warfare to silence the surface to air missiles ,jamming, precision munitions guided weapons and certainly the improvement in aircraft it self where fly by wire and head up display technology became an integral part. Air power is also closely related to the American social pattern of eighties where poverty was touching unprecedented limits the ethnic and demographic balance of the country has been misbalanced and among all these the only ray of hope and pride was aircraft and air power apart from space program, the space shuttles flights are part of that image of air and space superiority. which is in fact just true .

*Small Wars of Peace.* America after the first gulf war took art in small wars of peace like in Somalia {1992} Bosnia {1991} and Kosovo {1999} although from military point of view there is nothing new in them except that they highlighted the tension among four services about the role which they had to play ,in Bosnia the USAF pressed for a role but debated by navy and army<sup>x</sup> where in classic term this was marines domain thus policy suffered because of inter service rivalry which is not a new thing at all .Still it was the air power in the shape of USAF A-10,USAN F-15 and Marines F-18 in Bosnia that conveyed the action. Kosovo was a slightly different affair as USAF lost a F-117 in the conflict and downing of its pilots captured a wide audience in home. This romance with air is not new and it glamorises the war itself, the downing of pilot is always different for media as compared to a foot soldier, the role of media also acted as catalyst in fermenting the image of American power through airpower. Further in 1992 the American armed forces underwent massive reduction with over half million being demobilised the economy was spending almost 400 billion \$ on defence thus air power emerged as the logical answer as it was in early 1920s for the European powers to control the empire through air policing. The success of 1990 now became a set piece remedy for everything and thus in American culture instead of diplomacy the use of violence became the norm and employment of aircraft its tool, this shift towards coercion by the America was direct result of air power.

By the time 9/11 happened this strategic culture had taken its roots ,it is possible to satisfy people and policy through the use of air power as it almost eliminates the risk of casualties to American soldiers the only friction was among air powers within military, as it was distributed among the services. The first reaction of action to 9/11 was nothing other than the airpower, Pakistan was coerced to agree to all seven conditions that Bush administration set or faced being bombed to stone age<sup>xi</sup>, this was airpower at its best it has coerced a state without firing any round.

Afghan war or capitulation of Taliban was in fact a repetition of Gulf War, in this case the Taliban did not had any anti aircraft weapon other than few stingers and few anti aircraft guns. The air campaign or rather bombing started on 7<sup>th</sup> October 2001, In the first 76

days of operations till 23 December 2001, when sustained air operations slowed, the US flew about 6,500 strike missions over Afghanistan. About 17,500 munitions were expended on over 120 fixed target complexes and over 400 vehicles and artillery guns. A total of 57 percent of the weapons delivered were precision guided. Navy carrier-based planes flew 4,900 of the 6,500 strike sorties or 75 percent of the total. The Air Force, flying 25 percent of the sorties, delivered 12,900 weapons, over 70 percent of the total delivered<sup>xiii</sup>.

America does not rely upon preliminary airpower alone as a necessity to bring its enemies to their knees this was the verdict of Iraq invasion in 2003 where in a classical WW 2 pattern the armour and airpower roared together which is now described as 'Shock And Awe' shock in lethality and awesome in precision. The plan of General Tommy Franks called for surprise and the perception even among top military brass of USA that an 'air campaign' has to be there before the army campaign. The inter service rivalries also plays its role and that is not something peculiar to USA but it is almost similar in all military establishment only USA has one more in the form of marines. And this plan worked as it takes away the initiative from enemy whereas the air campaign demands a prolonged time period and political events can reverse in that period. The war started with two F-117 dropping their two thousand laser guided munitions right through the depth of Saddam Hussain's German-made concrete bunker and then throughout the next ten days it was a display of precision bombing where damage was done temporarily and not permanent, the Centcom stated that they can drop a bomb through a window without damaging the other room.

### Enduring Freedom

is the code name of the ongoing operation of America against the terrorist who launched the successful and most lethal attack on American soil in its living memory and also in written history. Repercussions had to be there and they had to be quick and a lesson for all to know. 'We may be the only one left in this war, that's ok with me, we are Americans' President George Bush after the attacks commented<sup>xiii</sup>, this much Bush was sure that is Osama Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda behind this attack but he did not have the proof and neither he needed one at this time, he wanted him out dead or alive. Osama was in Afghanistan a landlocked country, barren, desolate about the size of Bush's home state Texas. Afghan are to some historians the 12<sup>th</sup> lost tribe of Moses. Present day Afghanistan took birth as an aftershoot of Great Game when British after suffering the most devastating defeat in military history when only one survived out of a force of 16000 in 1839 and later again suffering similar fate in 1879 finally relinquished their claim and demarcated the Indian subcontinent into Afghanistan and British India with a 'Durand Line' running on the crest of mountains, naturally tribes never accepted and neither respected it.

There are twelve major tribes who lived on the eastern border more famous are Afridis, Khattaks, Shinwaris, Mohmand, Mahsuds, Wazirs and Orakzai. They are Pashtun by ethnicity and these Pashtuns are about 20 million in number<sup>xiv</sup> {9 million in Afghanistan and other in Pakistan} the other major ethnic group of Afghanistan are the northern tribes who are Uzbek and Tajik they differ in appearance from Pashtun as they have more Mongol blood line, the binding factor is the religion Islam in which they are again having varying difference, the northerners having moderate view and Pashtuns having extremist view point. Soviet Union tried to cultivate Marxist ideas in Afghanistan in 1979 and later invaded as well with over 85000 troops but retreated after eight years and having suffered 55000 casualties thanks mainly to American military aid to tenacious Afghans and their brethren Arabs Mujahideen for whom it was a religious war the Jihad. After Soviet departure the tribes fought among each other and finally in 1994 the student 'Taliban' revolution took place in which the veteran front line Mujahideen who were now mainly spending life in an anarchic environment by teaching religion to orphans of the war in the Pashtun tribes led by one-eyed Mullah Omar of Kandhar and his close Mujahideen who almost all had lost either a leg or hand in Jihad.

started the drive and within three months they virtually had the half of Afghanistan under their control. And by 2001 were in control of whole except a valley under northern tribe.

Laden is probably the most romantic rebel, guerrilla, terrorist of all time, he seems to be reincarnation of 12<sup>th</sup> century Hasan bin Sabah and his assassins. Laden was twenty six and a billionaire<sup>xv</sup> when he came to Peshawar from Saudi Arabia {the way Che Guerra went to Bolivia} and soon Osama became the most fierce fighter followed maniacally especially by his Arabs and other Mujahedeen's. After the war Osama soon became disillusioned with Afghan civil war and also of Saudi royal family and settled in Yemen from where he conducted a series of spectacular attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and then migrated to Afghanistan now under Taliban.

Mullah Omar demanded a proof from Bush later however Omar agreed to put Osama on an open court of international justice, both demand rejected by Bush. Between 11<sup>th</sup> September- 7<sup>th</sup> October 2001 the Central Command of America {Centcom} under whose area of operation Afghanistan falls carried out all appreciation and put forward three plans<sup>xvi</sup>, the first one calls for destruction through air power only but finally the presence of ground troops and destruction using air power was approved.

Secretary of Defence Rumsfeld admitted 'the hard fact was that America could not operate in Afghanistan without having allies'<sup>xvii</sup> The fact was Afghanistan was not a country at all, there were no target to be hit as in conventional states or as in Iraq. President Bush remarked 'whats the fun in hitting a \$ 10 tent with \$ 200 million worth cruise missile'<sup>xviii</sup>. There was no electricity, command and control centres, air defence weapons, telecommunication etc what little was there it was not affecting anything, what was present on ground were 60,000 Taliban, a thousand of Osama Arab warriors and potential million pasthuns in tribes all ready to wage another war.

A quick glance through history confirmed Americans that Afghanistan is not a push over. All neighbouring countries were coerced like Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Pakistan into giving bases and all other support for which American paid and wrote off old loans. This is where a new way of warfare in American military history took birth. instead of simply landing the troops in Afghanistan or bombing it into rubble the Americans paid the northern alliance money to wage war against the talibans with their {USA} aerial support. It was a unique war where the first Americans to land were Central intelligence Agency field operatives followed by the special operation forces whose main task was to guide the American bombers to the target with the help of laser guided equipment. By 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2001 Kabul was captured by the Northern Alliance and soon American forces started landing in Afghanistan in numbers. Taliban simply fled to their stronghold in Kandhar and took refuge in mountains with Americans following hot on their heels supported by British and Northern Tribes. The Taliban and the wanted Laden escaped through the mountains towards the east and into eastern tribes of Pakistan. Some pitched battles and operations took place like 'Operation Anaconda' and heavy bombing in Tora Bora mountains.

Pakistan was coerced into deploying its almost two corps along the border to stop the Taliban fleeing and from this point onwards an intricate and delicate situation took birth. Pakistan denied Americans right to cross into its territory in hot pursuit of Taliban and rather took it self to hunt them down but Americans were not satisfied with this arrangements yet they conceded to Pakistan, for an outsider it looks extremely enigmatic that the biggest super power on god's earth is unable to chase the talibans and hunt them down in primitive mountains. The answer lies in following.

Pakistan is a nuclear state with a population of over 150 million with 97% Muslim and over 3 million Christians<sup>xix</sup>, the biggest in an Islamic country, the country due to prolong military rules have become a nursery of radical Islam and ongoing guerrilla movement in Kashmir against India finally resulted in Indians amassing their forces on border in 2002 for a showdown with Pakistan. As soon as American bombing campaign started in Afghanistan there were wide spread mass demonstration in Pakistan although not as violent as expected. USA had the following option, either to launch a ground operation from Afghanistan onto the tribal area and in ensuing expect high casualties, launch an air campaign for a prolong period during which the population might revolt against the existing friendly regime and finally USA

could have allowed the India to launch the attack from the east and simultaneously itself launch attack on the tribes. But all these had catastrophic consequences thus USA adopted the same strategy as they adopted in initial routing of Taliban, they simply paid Pakistan to wage their war and simultaneously put the tribal area under aerial observation and conducted joint operations with Pakistan army. Americans trained Pakistan army into night vision fighting by providing helicopters {almost 40 Bell 412 and 20 cobras<sup>xx</sup>} and later training them in USA as well. New militia force was raised with American funding, intelligence was also shared.

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Between 2002-2006 almost three hundred hard core Al-Qaeeda operatives have been arrested in Pakistan and over 80% of all wanted persons have been arrested in Pakistan by USA but all this has come at a very high price. From 2002 the attacks on Christian community started increasing in which church and schools were targeted, all foreign national became a target of suicide or kidnap attempts. In June 2002 eleven French engineers were killed in suicide attack and later American journalist Daniel pearl was butchered, Pakistan army itself became target of suicide attacks and one three star general has been killed and other has been injured apart from over 200 other all ranks killed in various attacks. A series of bomb and suicide attacks virtually paralysed the country and brought it to anarchy. The public support especially in tribal areas started increasing for the talibans, this was mainly due to the religious ties and also as a reaction of American operation in the tribal area, the Americans at times as in 2003 Bajour area operated and fired missile on suspected hideouts of Taliban in Pakistan territory which killed over a dozen civilian population.

America thus found itself in a catch-22 situation ,if they attack on suspected habitats in tribal area than they can face high casualties of their own troops and a possible repercussion and public lashing from Pakistan and if it goes unchecked than a coup or anarchy can take place, on the other hand if they simply allow Pakistan Army to carry out operation inside Pakistan on American intelligence than the results might take time, one additional factor was that almost all Al-Qaeeda members got underground in the major cities. Thus America opted for a combination of both ,it does not operate within Pakistan territory yet it violates airspace as and when required and it also allows Pakistan army and intelligence agencies to operate at their own.

*Winning Heart and Mind.* In October 2005 the Northern Areas of Pakistan were hit by a massive earthquake and Americans led the way in the biggest helicopter rescue relief operation in the history ‘Operation Lifeline’<sup>xxi</sup>. In same year the Swat area of Pakistan underwent a radical change when people started an armed campaign to have Islamic laws in their territory and called themselves as ‘Taliban’ soon it became a full fledged armed resistance and employed a corps of Pakistan army. In December 2007 the Pakistan underwent a shock when twice premier Benazir Bhutto was assassinated in a political rally by hardliners, for next three days there was no writ of state in Pakistan, later in elections the ex army chief and president Musharraf was defeated in parliamentary elections and soon democracy return to power. This presented new dilemma to USA as although it champions democracy yet it believes in rhetoric in this aspect as far as Islamic states are concerned because in true democratic state it is the will of people that has to be prevailed and people are generally against American policy .In 2009 the Pakistan made a compromise with the Talibans in the Swat area which is highly criticised in America.

*Conclusion.* America’s war against terror has become a war against tribes of Pashtuns of HinduKush and apparently there seems to be no immediate remedy for this for the reason that there is a difference between extremism and terrorism as far as Islamic ideology is concerned. Pakistan the key player in this war has its own limitations, and Pakistan does affect the region’s stability in a more drastic manner than the Iraq or Iran. The Chinese factor will play a key role and USA might have to face the Chinese if it decides to carry out any intervention in Pakistan. On the other hand the present state of affairs is not satisfactory from American perspective who desires and demand a more aggressive policy from Pakistan towards the Talibans. The Pakistan dilemma is that it cannot undertake operation against an ideology that is wide spreading along its western borders, it is already engaged in such counter insurgency operation since December 2001 and have suffered heavy casualties in tribal areas. Democracy has its own logics and one must respect them. Pakistan is now most

volatile area in world ,the recent terrorist attacks in Mumbai and Lahore have again brought the fact into light that Al-Qaeeda and its sympathisers simply want a confrontation in the region, their aim and goal is that there should be a war involving Pakistan and they know any war now will be a nuclear one and they hope by this they will bring anarchy into Pakistan as war has brought it in Afghanistan and thus they will have more wider audience for their call. One major answer to all this is to rebuild Pakistan and all that money which America will be spending in any future conflict in the region should now be spend on economic and educational uplift, rather than spending later on rebuilding and most importantly the democratic institutions in Pakistan shall be protected at all cost

USA does not seem to be over reliant on airpower rather it has a flexible approach .The military system on land has remained unchanged in last three hundred years with fire power being the dominant factor and before air power it was artillery and now the same action is done through the use of air craft. Neither USA seems to be overly relying upon strategic bombing of WW2 or Vietnam pattern. In the post cold war conflicts USA has been unpredictable in the tactics and strategy ,and this is the beauty of any military organisation. They were the first one to conduct a prolong air campaign in Gulf War and every one thought that this is now standard but they achieved surprised in Iraqi invasion by not adopting it in 2003 and there by achieving surprise. The reality of our time in term of warfare is in third dimension at least for those nations that can afford its cost and apparently it is USA at the moment which can afford it, others like Saudi Arabia or Korea can buy the American aircraft but they even cannot maintain them without American assistance thus America has a virtual monopoly over the third dimension and it depends upon them how well they use it, the world does not have any answer or remedy to this.

The wars that America have fought since end of Cold-War could all have been finished off with the airpower although it would have taken a little bit more time had that option being followed but the relationship between policy and war at times makes it necessary that airpower should be utilised and at others {Iraq 2003}it spelled that it should be finished off quickly before world opinion turns other way. Airpower has limitation ,it is never used in full, it is bounded by ethics of warfare therefore the concept of avoiding civilian and collateral casualties generally turns airpower into a prolong saga, the weather is the biggest hurdle and unavoidable foe that has yet to be overcome. The new face of airpower in future involves remote control unmanned aerial vehicles ‘Predator’ which are controlled from thousand of miles and has removed ‘fog of war’ for the commanders.

The primary aim of any war was and will remain the destruction of enemy armed forces, its command and control, logistics and morale .For centuries humans were looking for suitable weapon that can destroy all of them simultaneously but to no avail, however with present and forthcoming aerial armada of America along with its superior technology ,precision guided munitions and its desire to act as an imperial power protecting its commercial and ideological interest on global scale, there is no alternative than the air power and Americans have very rightly used it since 1990 because it is instant, cost effective, safe and lethal.

### **DRIVING Lessons**

In England it seems that driving licence is every thing ,you need not any identification other than that.I am driving for last twenty five years and never had any accident other than some close shaves.now while walking on Byres Road and pondering over the general financial situation of mine and the world I realised that only way out is to drive a taxi here as it seems like a clean and neat job but first I need a driving licence.In my opinion it was not a big deal.

In my casual manner I started asking questions from my flat mate who had a car and he informed to check it on web, all the information was there but my passport was with SIA so I could not apply finally one day I went to the Driving vehicle licensing Authority, it was end April. the office was located on George Street, I had a map and it was not difficult to locate still I lost the way. I had recently bought a GPS after my repeated such follies and it was its first practical application, it worked well as it took me close to the address. now back home the procedure is quite different. I had my first driving licence after almost six years of driving, I had a military driving licence but civil I never had one because I never desired one, the one I got was in sukkur where I had just gone to the police office and had a cup of tea and handed over my picture which they trimmed it and after a week some one went there and picked up the licence. the second licence which I got was a couple of years ago when they made it like a card and it took me almost fortnight of pondering and another to get it although office was just four hundred yards away from my mess. I still remember how frustrated I was when I had to go to the post office to deposit the amount. The reason of narrating all this is to tell you that I am always allergic to the paper work.

In the office it was a small que and after some time my turn came, I sat on a chair and on the other side of the window was a woman who accepted my forms, it could have been done through the post office but kasi told me it will save time and I was anxious to get the licence. After a week I received a letter and now I had to book a test of theory on line and had to clear it. Another month passed by and one day I finally booked it it took just ten minutes to do so and I was scared of it. I was given a date which was 12<sup>th</sup> May 2009, the fees which was £30 was deducted from my card. Now what to do, I for the first time start taking interest in the road marking and realised they are too complicated just like airport marking. Two days before the test I sat in library and surf the net and found almost all the syllabus. there are countless schools in Glasgow which prepares you for the test including theory and practical but I was confident, it does not matter but after scanning and scrolling for an hour I realised it's not a piece of cake, I went through it again still I was not sure what are these diagonal yellow lines at the junction and what do they mean by bus lane and host of others. The night before the test Mariox invited me late and after couple of drinks I stayed at her place, she put on the alarm for the next morning but at ten o'clock in the morning I declared it's better to stay here, later we went for a drive and lunch at Troon, incidentally it was our last get together.

Next I book the date after one month, in any case it's not one's choice rather it is availability of seats from the DVLA. On 12<sup>th</sup> June I reached the office it was on Sauchiehall street, I entered it and reached the desired floor, waited in queue which was very short, I had same feelings which I had in my metric examination, I realised why it's so important, I have been studying it. My documents were checked and I was given a token which I took it to the another person which briefed me on the procedure and I entered another room where there were computer consoles. the theory test consist of over fifty questions which are largely clips and multiple questions and you have to tick the right answer, there was a mock test as well and certainly it has to be done within a time frame which I believed was forty five minutes. They were tricky in nature yet aim was not catchy, I came out, there was a pin drop silence in the room and there was no invigilator also. I was told by the incharge to wait for half an hour or less before I get. There were clear instructions on the wall which made it clear that any verbal or physical assault on the staff would be reported immediately to the police, secondly no discussion on the result as well. In this brief time I thought about aviation school and army entrance tests, if we can have similar tests procedures then lot of ill feeling can be overcome but the irony of fate is that all this equipment requires electricity uninterrupted one which we lack. I got the result the suspense was as similar as I used to have

in the AFIP for my drug abuse tests, I passed it with the minimum marks but I had passed it. The few other candidates who passed gave thumbs up sign and I left the building and went down to the street and now I had a very respectable outlook for all those who were sitting behind the vehicles that include even the young ones because I realised that you cannot get driving test here just because your father is a minister or you are an officer, none can you help here you have to read and prepare for it, in the end the roads become safe to drive and walk. It also removed another fallacy about British drivers 'they are courteous' the test is design as such to inculcate it. In my mind I image myself sitting behind a rental car at least and for the first time read the advertisement of rental cars £15 a day £100 for a week, in my heart I made plans for visiting Scotland on car and by the time I reached my flat at Kelvinhaugh street, I like most of students preferred walk as it saves money. and during that walk I waved as many drivers as I could and felt inferior to them for the first time. I also thought and by the time I reached my room and had the first beer I was convinced that I should go back to Pakistan by road. I thought of Colonel Ahsan Janjua who did it in 1989 and even ex president Musharraf did it with Sehba in 1978, that I read in his autobiography. Now practical but where to start from.

### **Fresher Week**

I was not part of the fresher week when my term started because I was late by a week however when the next one started I was in the university and observed it. In mid June the messages start coming in your mail box from the university asking for volunteers and paid work in relation the fresher week, university pays the best rates for hourly work in the whole Glasgow about £7 per hour. student has to confirm their availability through mail, everything is through electronic mail, I in my usual casual manner confirmed it on the last day thus I was not picked yet I received a message informing me in most polite manner that vacancies are filled, it was a blessing in disguise as I was heavily committed in my dissertation in that time period. Students who are part of reception committee are issued special t-shirts which indicate that they are the helpers, a day briefing session is conducted for these where free lunch is also given to them.

University buses are plyed from the university to the airport, and from buses I don't mean that these buses are owned by the university or they have bold painted marking of the university of Glasgow written over it, I think uni does not own any bus, yes it has couple of coasters which are used for campus transportation between varying living complexes free of cost and drivers are all students including girls which are paid for this but you need a driving licence for this, these coasters have the university marking on them. Coming back to the fresher week, I saw bus being parked on the University avenue and the new students stepping down, that was their first ever step on the uni soil, their bags and they have heavy luggage were in the rear of the bus which they have to pick themselves and carry them to the Fraser building just fifty yards away. In the Fraser building there were three students on a rota till 2100 hours which help them in guiding them to their accommodation, for this the uni provides free accommodation apart from complimentary tea/coffee and snacks. Why I came to know all this, because my friend Zeeshaan from QMR was there and he met at night outside the library while I was busy in dissertation and I went down with him to the Fraser building and was glad to have free coffee and biscuits which were there, there was a coffee kettle and boxes of biscuits, Zeeshaan also gave me a free voucher of one coffee which I can use at the main coffee, I used it after two days but I was scared lest I or Zeeshaan gets in to any trouble over this, the point to highlight that one becomes law abiding here and always think in more broad term than the initial gain.

The students comes from all over the world and one can see this written over their face, they are shy, confused and walking in group and talking politely among each, trying to pair with others, majority of foreign students are from China followed by subcontinent, it's difficult to say who is from Pakistan or from India as they have same features and they are all smiles with each other, one can make out Pakistani girls mainly throught kameez shalwar, Indian girls generally wears jeans, the Malaysians girls are always clad in scarf around their head not once in whole year I saw any one without it, same holds true for majority of Iranians and arabs.

In the university the first week is very colour full there are stalls from almost every club and association like mature students association, medical, history, their aim is not to lure the student but to provide the information, the helper students take them on around of the campus, the new intake is allowed free access to the recreation facilities free of cost for a week. The night clubs from the city also holds their stall which are on trailers and buses giving away passes for free drinks. The city's night life depends quite much on the students especially the clubs like campus social animals viper etc the one located on the Sauchihall street, it's but natural that if you go to a club once then you will prefer to go there for the rest of your term, then there are flyers from barbers announcing the reduction of cost for students. yes barber is very important here and one really has to take an appointment from them and their cost also vary. For almost a week the lane in front of the library is reverberating with colour and music. Even the churches compete for the students, the catholic chaplaincy would have its own welcome programme and Methodist another. The clubs of university remained open for a week with free entrance, I saw the longest que on Monday outside Hive.

## **HOW DID THE 'SMALL WARS OF PEACE' MOULD THE STRATEGIC CULTURE OF BRITAIN'S ARMED FORCES BETWEEN 1945-1960**

Strategic culture is a relatively new term and was first used in 70's to describe how nations react in different ways particularly highlighting response to war<sup>40</sup>. A strategic military culture is thus defined as an 'collective response of a nation to its security basing upon its geography, economy, demography, history, social culture, political values, ideology, industrial strength and composition of armed forces'<sup>41</sup>. British strategic culture from 17<sup>th</sup> century onward was based upon maritime strength which was deemed the basic stone of its survival and expansion as an empire, Royal Navy {RN} also was responsible for ensuring the defence of island, army was relegated to secondary position, mainly to control the colonies, ports, inland expansion of empire and to fight a small conventional war on mainland Europe always in alliance with another power. Economy, use of diplomacy and subservient of military to politics were another key factor of British strategic culture.

After VE the British armed forces set to occupy and reconquest the empire lost to Japan in Asia and in some cases to help fellow European nations in getting their colonies

<sup>40</sup> Lawrence Sondhaus, *Strategic Culture and Ways of War* (New York; Routledge, 2006), p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p.5.

back, yet a wave of nationalism had started in the former colonies which after their armed resistance to the Japan were not very conducive in welcoming back their European masters, thus the initial period immediately after the VE is critical for the future of British empire as a series of chain of events involving military ,political and economical factors shaped the future.

#### *French Indo China.*

20<sup>th</sup> Indian Division under General Gracey intervened in Indo China in September 1945 and on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1945 Mountbatten accepted sword of surrender from Japanese at Saigon and by mid January 1946 the 20<sup>th</sup> Division started pulling out.

#### *Indonesia, Dutch East Indies*

First major British landing was in Jakarta on 15<sup>th</sup> September 1945 the 23<sup>rd</sup> Indian Division<sup>42</sup> . Surabaya, the largest naval base in Asia after Singapore ,here 29<sup>th</sup> Brigade of 23<sup>rd</sup> Division arrived on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1945 and by 29<sup>th</sup> October British had lost 16 officers and 217 other ranks while fighting in the city against the civilians, and white hall announced the British garrison is besieged<sup>43</sup> British commander Brigadier Mallaby was also killed in an ambush and resultantly a reign of vengeance spread out,5<sup>th</sup> Indian division was also called in for help, the city refused to surrender and local muslim population raised jihad, Surabhaya became the first and largest British military engagement after WW2,city was bombed by RAF. On 28<sup>th</sup> November 1945 the city was cleared with a loss 600 allied troops and some 10,000 civilian casualties. Feeling of hate spread all over Indonesia, in one instance a crashed British Dakota with 23 British and Indian crew were hacked to death and in retaliation British burnt over 600 houses. British left Dutch East Indies in November 1946.

British had 2,136 own and Indian troops casualties in war against nationalist in Indo China and Dutch East Indies

#### *Deteriorating Morale, Mutinies*

The major worry for British force commander Lord Louis Mountbatten was the deteriorating state of morale, he told Chiefs of Staff in October 1945 ‘morale is good but it would deteriorate’<sup>44</sup> In October 1945 there was a mutiny aboard HMS Northway where sailors left their breakfast ,protesting over the menu, in January 1946 there was a series of protest across RAF stations starting from Karachi, it involved 14 stations and over 50,000 men<sup>45</sup>,immediate cause was poor food and living conditions and by May 1946 it spread to frontline troops in Malay as well where in one instance over 258 British troops were arrested and charge with mutiny and 243 were sentenced ,to the military it was the bombshell. Montgomery wrote to field commanders ‘no criticism against our new government’. In February 1946 RN had mutiny over racial tension and soon anti British riots erupted in India

#### *Defence White Paper 1946*

None influence British way of war in post WW2 as much as the first Labour premier, Mr Atlee’s policy and thinking was to avoid any clash with Russian and to withdraw forces from all such areas including Middle East and India and to have a defence line across the

<sup>42</sup> C.Bayly, and T. Harper, *Forgotten Wars,The End of Britain’s Asian Empire*{London;Penguin,2007} P,167 ,

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 171.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid ,218.

Africa. He was the first to grasp the fragility of empire in post war era 'Its not a unit that can be defended by itself, it was the creation of sea power and with the advent of air power...empire scattered over five continents cannot be defended with a fleet based on island fortress, its gone'<sup>46</sup>. Mr Atlee instead came up with the idea of having a commonwealth of Britain former colonies. Poor financial conditions of economy and social programme of his could not afford traditional strategic culture of empire and confrontation. By 1946, UK had to take a 3.75 billion \$ loan from USA, yet UK was the highest spender on defence surpassing even USA.

It was in these backgrounds of ideology and economics that Labour announced the forthcoming independence to India in 1947 and later to Burma as well. Military did not agreed with the prime minister and in January 1947 the three chiefs stressed the retention of Middle East bases and influence, the other bone of contention was the shortage of manpower and on both these issues the three chiefs threatened to resign<sup>47</sup>, certainly the strategic culture was changing. Thus the wars of peace are to be seen in this contest , where on one hand politics demand expenditures on defence to be reduced and restricted to home land and European defence only and military stressing upon retaining almost all colonies as they are vital to launch offensive on Russians. Defence white paper of 1946 ,government announced demobilisation of forces from 5.1 million to 2-2 million by 30<sup>th</sup> June 1946 and setting a target of half that by year end yet the commitments of armed forces were not reduced they were

- a. Share of forces for occupation of Germany, Austria and Japan of terms of surrender
- b. Forces for Greek nation recovery
- d. Liquidation of Japanese occupation in allied territories in south east asia
- e. Maintenance of internal security in Europe
- f. Safe guarding of our communication and the upkeep of our bases

#### *Middle East*

October 1945 saw a series of explosion by Jews, Haganah alone setting off 500<sup>48</sup>, British commander was General Sir Alan Cunningham, by January 1946 situation had deteriorated, the British army strength had risen to 80,000 and country was put under military rule yet armed raids continued especially against RAF at Aqir followed by attacks against army, 'for British soldier it was frustrating sort of war,,he was hardly involved in any military activity'<sup>49</sup> on 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1946 King David hotel was blown up it killed 91 and wounded other 45 mainly British, who reacted swiftly and strictly but to little gain, Irgun retaliated with kidnapping and lashing three British officers, in January 1947 British strength rose to 1,00,000 troops and by February 1947 Atlee decided to refer the problem to UNO. but it did not stopped violence and martial law was re imposed, violence became intense and Jews hanged two British sergeants, finally on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1947 UNO announced the partition plan and on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1948 British gave up their mandate. This was a strategic defeat for British armed forces, for the first time they have been forced to act different from their

<sup>46</sup> Olav Riste, ed , *Western Security the Formulative Years 1947-1953*{New York; Coloumbia University Press,1985},p.32.

<sup>47</sup> David Devereux, *The Formulation of British Defence Policy towards Middle East 1848-1956*{London,Macmillan,1990}p.45.

<sup>48</sup> Lord Carver, *Britain's Army in the Twentieth Century*{London,Macmillan,1998} p. 320.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 321.

strategic needs because of political pressure. The American Jewish population used political and financial pressure on Truman to use American loan as a black mail to force British to increase the quota of immigrants. On a military level, British militarily failed to destroy the terrorist organisations, it was failure of intelligence yet it was a military failure, it set a chain of events in Middle East that affected the long term strategic aims of British establishment

#### *National Service Act*

The defence budget had envisaged a reduction of army from 534000 to 345000 , this compelled Monty to argue for increase of term of national service from 18 months to two years<sup>50</sup>. In the end a compromise was achieved between politics and military, it was an attempt to create a public awareness and inclusion in a permanent state of war, almost everyone had to serve and thus military culture was spread among the masses, it was finally disbanded and discontinued in 1960.

#### *Malay*

In 1948 the communist insurgency started in Malay and British troops remained engaged in the conflict till 1960, over 30,000 British troops were the peak number supported by over one hundred fighter and fifty bomber aircraft ,all against a communist strength of not more than 6000 ill armed Chinese Malays. British initially had only one brigade which later became a corps similarly the concept of having the commonwealth defence was put into action with one squadron from Royal Australian Air Force, one from New Zealand, military units from Rhodesia, Kenya, Borneo and Sarawak taking part. It was a high point of military way of working and was streamlined by putting all the forces {military and politics} under one person and naturally that person was from military and this became a standard pattern in all other counter insurgencies operations within the empire.

#### *Korea*

Britain had to support the American efforts in Korea with a brigade strength force. The chiefs of staffs found it difficult to spare even a brigade yet the political considerations were too high ,therefore one brigade from Hong Kong was moved later Commonwealth troops also joined in and it became a commonwealth division.

There was a sharp increase in defence spending in the aftermath of Korean conflict thus again the political structure of the country which was based upon less spending on defence was shattered and it resulted in Labour defeat in 1951 elections. Thus a direct link was established between the armed forces spending and the political victory

#### *Kenya*

Another uprising which took place in 1952 was in Kenya the rebel tribe under Jomo Kenyatta having Mau Mau as army wing started violence. a state of emergency was declared on 20<sup>th</sup> October 1952 and a British battalion was despatched from Suez. .later a director of operations on the line of Malay was appointed, ,in April a British brigade was sent and in late 1953 another British brigade the 49<sup>th</sup> was sent<sup>51</sup>, in November 1956 army was called off. The conflict had resulted in 63 British troops, 3 Asians and 534 Africans, but it had deployed over 10,000 British troops, the cost was 55 million pound shared equally by British and Kenyan governments.

<sup>50</sup> Hew Strachan,,The British Army,Manpower and Society into the Twenty First Century[London;Cass,2000], pp.39-47

<sup>51</sup> Carver,Army,p. 365

*Cyprus.*

Britain had raised the hopes of Cyprus joining Greece in 1945<sup>52</sup>, but by 1954 British had changed minds due to strategic considerations of shifting the troops from middle east to Cyprus resultantly in march 1955 street agitation started in Cyprus, British army had over 12000 and RAF over 2000 troops in Cyprus<sup>53</sup> reinforced with another brigade in January 1956 along with helicopters of RAF. against 750 guerrillas<sup>54</sup> and in 1958 the rebellion ceased,<sup>78</sup> British servicemen were killed in sabotage activities, guerrillas had set off 1382 bomb explosions and 51 of rebels were killed and 1500 detained.

*Suez*

It was the turning point of British strategic military culture. Since 1945 the Empire had been fighting a rear guard action, the Labour party in line with their manifesto had ceded the empire without any fight. India and Burma are such examples the insurgency in Kenya, Cyprus and Malay were still undergoing but they were against a very small group yet that had tied a major effort of the armed forces. By 1956 the Britain had retained her self confidence of an empire by virtue of her atomic bomb explosion the third such nation to do so and was thus poised to behave and act as a super power. They had thought of military intervention in Egypt in 1950 when the coup occurred but later modified their policies yet middle east was the key point and Suez the life line of Britain because of her dependency upon oil. British army 83000 strong were stationed in middle east although Britain tried to reduce her international commitment through SEATO and CENTO pacts with Arab and Asian countries.

The agreement with Nasser was reached in 1954 for removal of British troops in twenty months yet Egypt did not join any of the defence pacts. British troops left Suez on 13<sup>th</sup> June 1956 and quickly Nasser nationalised the Suez canal, Premier Eden told military to prepare for invasion and the reality soon dawned that Britain is unable to do so, it simply cannot launch an invasion because it does not have the resources and preparedness despite spending maximum on defence thus 23000 reservists were called, 'it was hard to find shipping in England'<sup>55</sup>, original plan was to invade through Alexandria and then an armour thrust but was changed to landing at Port Said due to lack of amphibious landing ships and finally it was to allow the Israelis to invade the Sinai and both British and French to come in as peacekeepers. It did work that way and British made their first ever use of helicopter assault but over all operation failed because of American reluctance and pressure thus Eden political career also ended and he was replaced by Macmillan

*Sandy Defence whitepaper*

1957 Defence White Paper in fact highlights the impact of these wars on British way of warfare which clearly states the overriding importance of policy over war, importance of technology on military strategic culture, analysis of threat and means of countering it. And how that threat and defence has changed due to hydrogen and atomic bomb, it further highlights that communist threat can penetrate due to poor economic situation in Britain therefore a strong internal economy is vital. The advancement in science thus necessitates to

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid 376

<sup>53</sup> Ibid 381

<sup>54</sup> Ibid 386

<sup>55</sup> Ibid 397

cut the defence expenditures and realigned the services for future obligation of the Britain towards NATO, and her own interests

This defence paper admits that there is no viable defence against Russian nuclear weapons thus overriding consideration be on avoiding war rather than waging war, this thus becomes the strategic culture of Britain ,to avoid war, preference of European defence over the Empire, the importance of domestic welfare above everything, a small but mobile army of volunteers. This white paper highlighted<sup>56</sup> ;

a. The future role of RN is not clear in total war

b. Creation of an over all voluntary military force of 3,75,000 thus reducing it from 7,00,000 and end of conscription. Army strength to be around 1,65,000 which means disbandment of over 51 teeth arms battalions ,RN to be reduced to 88000 ,and RAF to 1,35,000, Defence of Middle east is vital and would be done by maintaining forces in Aden and in East Africa, with drawl of forces from Korea, maintenance of force in Singapore and reduction of overseas garrisons which are not necessary and creation of a central mobile reserve force in UK, and associated mobility required like aircraft to be fulfilled and above all a hope and vision that Commonwealth to play active part in sharing the defence

#### *Analysis*

British way of warfare has changed in last sixty years between 1900 -1960 and most dramatic and far reaching changes took place between 1945-1960. Britain came out of the war intact and victorious just the way they did after WW1 but it was economy which changed this culture of imperialism coupled with socialist ideas of Labour party. On military grounds Britain failed to achieve even a single military victory. Indo-China, East Indies and even Malay were small insurgencies, in Malay British employed over 30,000 troops and over 100 aircraft for over ten years against six thousand ill armed insurgents, Korea was a brigade level action and here too it took lot of time to spare even a brigade. Palestine was a major issue but Britain despite having over hundred thousand troops failed to overcome few thousand insurgents and had to vacate the strategically important area under American pressure and black mailing over loan. Kenya and Cyprus were again small police actions. The first major test was Suez where British military had to fight in British way of war, to invade, but it could not do so, the RN which in the past had been performing the same task was unable to perform due to lack of ships, RAF could not win any war at its own.

On discipline level the strong element of British way of war also crumbled into pieces. The mutinies of 1945-1946 were unprecedented and never before had any opposition leader spoke in favour of mutineers but Mr Churchill spoke in their favour and later the threat of resignation by three chiefs is again unparallel in this country's history. National conscription tried to balance between economy and defence through compulsory military service, that by itself was an effort to change the strategic culture of the nation but it was abandoned ,it was an effort to have a 'Nation in arms' which culturally Britain never has been despite fighting two world wars in a span of one generation. The services underwent a drastic change, traditionally RN has been the backbone of this warfare but aircraft rendered it obsolete thus one hardly see any naval engagement in these wars of peace, RAF again failed to deliver anything at its own and this led to formation of army air corps in 1959 thus close air support became army domain something which RAF has always resisted to have any aircraft under army command. Army emerged as the important service something which it always

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<sup>56</sup> Defence White Paper 1957

lacked in the past. Technology became the key word in new strategic culture, missiles instead aircraft, reliance upon atomic weapons.

### Conclusion

These small wars of peace thus moulded the British way of war and its culture in a subtle way, they retreated from the empire in an orderly manner and with good feelings, the centuries old imperial culture thus transformed into a European culture, armed forces did not become liberal or social yet they underwent a social change, women became an integral part of this culture with over fourteen thousand serving in armed forces on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1960<sup>57</sup>, due to national service act persons from all spheres of life were inducted as officers. Army as a whole dominated this fifteen years period and one finds Field Marshall Montgomery in the fore front. On the way of warfare the domination of small fighting units emerged, the use of helicopters was the single most significant impact of these small wars, RN thus shaped from global role to having marine commandos and heliborne carrier. These small wars highlighted the importance of special services group thus creation of Army Air Corps, the only corps to be raised in this time span. Batman culture still thrived in the military. The life of a soldier improved in terms of better living and food and this fact was highlighted in 1960 defence review states 'He must be well paid and well housed and his services must be efficiently and economically directed'<sup>58</sup>.

*'Such is the patriot's boast, where'er we roam,  
His first, best country ever is, at home'<sup>59</sup>*

## Analysis of British Military in Malayan Emergency

Malay peninsula is roughly the size of England less Wales, located in south east Asia, it is a jungle mountainous area, the maximum elevation of mountains is 7000 feet and they bisect the country into north-south direction, jungles covers four fifth of Malay's 50,850<sup>60</sup> square miles of area, the population of Malay in 1953 census was 5.2 million<sup>61</sup> people in which Indians constituted 11%, Chinese 39% and rest were the native Malay race, these Chinese and Indians mainly came to Malay because of rubber and tin trade that flourished since British took colonial control of Malay in 1895<sup>62</sup>. In 1925 the communist party of Malay was formed and it was this very party that became the sole resistance against Japanese invading army that over ran Malay and Singapore in 1943. These communist guerrillas were

<sup>57</sup> Defence White Paper, 1960, annex 1,

<sup>58</sup> Cabinet papers, Report on Defence 1960,

<sup>59</sup> Carver, *Out Of Step*, p.394

<sup>60</sup> Noel Barber, *War of Running Dogs, How Malay Defeated The Communist Guerrillas 1948-1960* {London, Fontana 1972} p 11

<sup>61</sup> Geoffrey Fairbairn, *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare* {Suffolk, Penguin, 1974} p 160

<sup>62</sup> Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency and Indonesian Confrontation, The Commonwealth's Wars 1948-1966* {Yorkshire, Pen and Sword, 2008} p 5

contacted by Major John Davis of British Army in 1943<sup>63</sup> and weapons, ammunition were para dropped into jungle, few British officers and men also joined these communists to give them training in weapon and explosives, this force came to be known as 'Force 136'<sup>64</sup>

The post war period in Malay became very politically agitated over future of Malay, communists who were dominating the trade unions almost paralysed the economy through strikes, the British were mainly the owners of large rubber plantation farms that were scattered all over the country, Chinese were the workers and squatters of these farms, Indians were into business. On 16<sup>th</sup> June 1948, three British planters were shot dead by Chinese communists<sup>65</sup>, British high commissioner imposed emergency in certain parts and on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1948 emergency was imposed all over Malay and it officially lasted till 30<sup>th</sup> July 1960<sup>66</sup>, although in between Malay itself got independence on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1957.

This emergency, insurgency and guerrilla warfare is a matter of interest from various angles, the first and foremost was that it was not allowed to spread the way Vietnam and Algeria got out of hand, and is regarded as the only victory of west over communism thus British handling of this emergency against communist became a kind of standard yard stick on which all other are judged especially the way French and American got bogged down in Indo-China in same time period and almost same is happening now in Iraq and Afghanistan.

### ***Aim***

*To highlight and analyse the British military performance in countering Malay Communist insurgency.*

British military power at the start of emergency consisted of three British battalions, one Gurkha brigade {seven battalions}, local police with a strength of ten thousand, the RAF based in Singapore had over eleven fighting and bomber squadrons, apart from three squadrons of Dakota transport squadrons, then there were few ships of Royal Navy as well, however by end December 1948 a British brigade {2<sup>nd</sup> Guards} was sent as reinforcement and strength rose to peak of 23 battalions in 1953 having over six British, Six Gurkhas, seven Malay, One Fijian, One East African, and One Australian battalion, supported by two armoured car regiments, two field engineer regiments, one Rhodesian parachute squadron and one commando brigade<sup>67</sup>. Airpower was also supplemented with over thirty medium range bombers and over thirty helicopters including Australian Air force apart from occasional support of Royal Navy aircraft carriers<sup>68</sup>. Apart from these regular troops a peak of 3,00,000 home guards were also raised.

Communists total strength remained at 12000 men but never peaked above 7500<sup>69</sup> men and women spread over the whole Malay peninsula in the form of war time organisation of battalions, there was one battalion in each state, the command was in the hand of Ching Pen, they were under armed having limited ammunition and few guns, most of their equipment was the one which they had hidden in the jungles, which was given by the Force 136, they had no radio equipment at all. Yen Muan was the civil wing of Communist Party of Malay, Ching Peng planned to start the insurgency in September 1948 but it accidentally started in June 1948<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Margaret Shennan, *Our Man in Malay* {Gloucestershire, Media Group, 2007} p 60

<sup>64</sup> Ibid p 75

<sup>65</sup> Jhon Nagl, *Learning To Eat Soup With a Knife Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malay and Vietnam* {London, Chicago University Press, 2002} p 63

<sup>66</sup> Ibid p 103

<sup>67</sup> Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire, Pen and Sword, 2008} p 19

<sup>68</sup> Ibid p 65

<sup>69</sup> Ibid p 14

<sup>70</sup> Peng, Chin, *My Side Of History* {Singapore, Media Masters, 2003} p 215

British military was well experienced in jungle warfare as they had been fighting in Burma for well over four years, the numerical and firepower difference was too much, virtually David had no chance against Goliath, logically British should have been able to wipe out the communist in first go but it did not happen and that explains the real nature of insurgency.

**First Phase** June 1948 - April 1950.

The General Officer Commanding Malay Major General Boucher was confident of wiping out the insurgent or bandits in three months, the tactics were to have wide jungle sweeps of company and battalion size troop strength, supported by aircraft. He stated on 27<sup>th</sup> July 1948 'my object is to break their concentration and to drive them underground in jungles and then to ferret them out'<sup>71</sup>. As a first step a Ferret Force of British volunteers of ex Force 136 along with British and Gurkha troops with local guide ventured into jungles to hunt the terrorist. Similarly RAF carried out extensive air offensive. A jungle warfare training school was also set up and in 1950 a special air service force under Colonel Calvert was formed<sup>72</sup>. On the other hand the communists were carrying out constant hit and run casualties on security forces. In Buang Mua they attacked with a strength of over two hundred guerrillas and took the town and remained in control for over five days, incidentally it was their only liberated area in whole emergency which lasted only for five days, in another incident they attacked a police station with a strength of over two hundred but failed to achieve any success. Apparently there was nothing wrong with the tactics of British military as it was after the terrorist in full swing in one incident they killed 27 terrorist, yet the incidents of violence kept on rising averaging fifty a week, over 149 security personnel's were killed with another 211 wounded and 315 civilian killed, terrorist lost 374 killed and 263 captured in 1948<sup>73</sup>. Terrorist had the advantage of choosing time and location of their own choice, thus creating terror in the hearts of all, conducting ambushes and raids on the military and then disappearing into jungle and then again laying ambushes for the military, they were certainly hoping for the public to rise and if that happens then the whole scenario would have changed, its not that the military or political administration was not aware of this danger but in built inertia of both did not allowed them to move, all three services had their own culture and were operating quasi independent of each other that partially was the reason of their failure in first phase.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1948 the existing high commissioner Sir Edward Gent died in an air crash while landing at London on his way from Kuala Lumpur, Sir Henry Gurney was appointed as new high commissioner and he assumed office on 6<sup>th</sup> October 1948, the delay of almost three month was a major blunder. The year 1949 saw a surge in violence with communists attacking in force of 200-300 at places of their choice, they 'attacked Kuala Krau on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1949 and burnt the railway station'<sup>74</sup> and put town on fire, again 'on 4<sup>th</sup> October 1949 some 200 terrorist attacked isolated rubber farm'<sup>75</sup>. The tally at the year end was 619

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<sup>71</sup>

Jhon Nagl, *Learning To Eat Soup With a Knife* {London, Chicago University Press, 2002} p 67

<sup>72</sup> David Charters and Maurice Tugwell *Armies in Low-Intensity Conflict A Comparative Analysis* {London, Brassey's, 1989} p 209

<sup>73</sup>

Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire, Pen and Sword, 2008} p 31

<sup>74</sup> Ibid p 31

<sup>75</sup> Ibid 32

terrorist killed against 229 security forces and 334 civilians killed. Clearly the David was in making and military despite taking all the right tactical steps was unable to stop this spread of terror, it was not that the communists were better trained or armed, it was surprise which they were achieving. The intensity of air offensive can be gauged from the fact that in 1949 in last two months over '62 strikes involving 388 sorties were flown' <sup>76</sup>, in 1948 over thirty million leaflets were dropped as part of psychological war fare, the head hunters of Sarawak and Borneo were also inducted in campaign against the communists. The flaw was in the mental state of armed forces, the over all in charge of emergency forces was the police commissioner. The victory of communists in China raised the morale of the Malay communists and emergency was heading for insurgency.

### **Second Phase April 1950- February 1952 'Briggs Plan'**

At this stage Lieutenant General retired Briggs agreed on request of Field Marshall Slim to serve in Malay for eighteen months, he was appointed as Director of Operations, this was the first attempt to have a co-ordinated command and control of security forces. His plan was to drain the water in which fish was swimming, it envisioned to clear the peninsula step by step from south to north, deny the terrorist their sanctuary of Chinese squatters, isolating the terrorists from food and finally destroying them.

Thus by end 1950 out of '3,00,000 Chinese squatters over 117,000 were moved into 140 new villages and in 1951, 429 new villages were established having 3,85,000 inhabitants'<sup>77</sup>. The communist leader Ching Peng admits in 2003 that 'Briggs Plan hit us in a hard way, it forced us to move deep into jungles and also changed our tactics'<sup>78</sup>, thus from attacking in large groups communists shifted to small platoon size force. On political front Gurney introduced mandatory identification card for all citizens thus giving citizenship to Chinese and Indians and eliminating Yen Muan. By end 1950, '648 terrorist were killed 147 captured and another 147 surrendering, security forces lost 393 with another 496 wounded and civilian casualties were 646 dead and 409 wounded' <sup>79</sup>. However in 1951 the effects of Brigg Plan started showing with decrease of incidents .

On 25<sup>th</sup> October 1951, the assassination of high commissioner Gurney by the communists put Malay back into lime light with British press and public screaming for accountability and the effects on morale of Malay public was in favour of communists now. Sir Henry Lyttelton the new colonial secretary of conservative government visited Malay and stayed for a month and then gave his six points programme whose most important aspect was to have a unified command of both military and political forces.

The man was Lieutenant General Gerald Templer, and his plan was to win the hearts and mind of the people along with a ruthless use of power. Thus air force, army, navy and police along with district administration were all put under one roof, second important aspect was gathering of intelligence, Templer laid high emphasis on this, he created special branch of police for this purpose, raising of home guard was another milestone as through this

<sup>76</sup> Ibid p 68

<sup>77</sup>

Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire, Pen and Sword, 2008} p 20

<sup>78</sup> Chin Peng, *My Side Of History* {Singapore, Media Masters, 2003} p 263

<sup>79</sup>

Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire, Pen and Sword, 2008} p 35

Templer inducted local Chinese into force and armed them, it won him the desired confidence of local population, the existing food denial was made even more harsh for the communists, above all Templer dealt with an iron hand with any incident, he from the beginning gave examples of this by putting the whole town on curfew and strict rationing where an incident had occurred and people were not coming forward with the information, thus collective punishment were introduced. 'Templer in short was a dictator' <sup>80</sup>. By 1953 the emergency had run out of steam and in 1954 the communists agreed for talks and in 1957 the Malay was given independence yet Commonwealth forces remained there and finally on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1960 emergency was lifted.

### Analysis

Purely from military aspect, the British military did not lived up to expectations, it was overwhelming in numbers and equipment and had vast experience of jungle warfare also yet it took it almost a decade to overcome the limited number of insurgents but compare to French in same time period and later of Americans it has succeeded . British military adopted a total war concept about the terrorists, there were no morality involved, there was no hesitation in using extensive force or fire power. Above all there was a will to fight as shown from the use of Ferret Force and employment of Head hunters and Dyaks. The question arise why it was not able to overcome the small number of communists in first go and why it took it so long. The most viable answer lies in the culture of armed forces which is always slow to adapt to new realities and is always over confident when it has numerical superiority, the traditional rivalry among services and between military and civil, tendency to utilise any conflict for advancement and regimental glory always act as a drag.

Since British military had no real opposition thus it went on experimenting, the use of helicopters in 1950 onwards was a great morale booster, over 5000 casualties <sup>81</sup> were heli evacuated during the campaign, and over 45000 troops were heli transported, heli insertion of troops in battle field was a major tactical innovation, in 1953 during Operation Bamboo over 546 troops were heli inserted into jungle in seven hours by eight helicopters. Helicopters were also used for spraying toxic material on terrorist crop areas. Air force remained on offensive with the comfort that there is no anti aircraft weapons, it employed and tested almost all kinds of weapons, in may 1953 it almost dropped over 154000 pounds of bombs in two days in a few square miles of jungle, napalm were used, the Australian air force squadron in eight years of flying dropped over 17500 tons of bombs in 4000 sorties <sup>82</sup>.

### Conclusion

British military failed to overcome insurgents at its own. Emergency was overcome through use of military and political means. a total of 1,865 personnel of security forces lost their lives with another 2,560 being wounded, civilian losses were 2,473 killed and 810 wounded and 6,698 communists were killed, 2,819 wounded and 2,675 surrendered<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Robert Banner, *Jungle Bashers A British Infantry Battalion in the Malayan Emergency 1951-1954* {Cheshire, Fleur De Lys, 2002} p 33

<sup>81</sup>

Robert Jackson, *The Malayan Emergency* {Yorkshire, Pen and Sword, 2008} p 97

<sup>82</sup> Ibid p 78

<sup>83</sup> Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup*, p 103

.Emergency cost was around 700 million Pounds<sup>84</sup>. It is not always fruitful to use maximum force to crush any rebel no matter how small it is, the indecisive local population or sympathisers of the rebels holds the key and they should be treated with care and should be won over in first priority. The role of civilian and politicians is paramount as they most of the time think beyond the tunnel vision of military officers. In the end it was a joint effort which was never rigid and fought on all three fronts of military, political and ideology.

Counter insurgency is nothing but deception and deceit void of all morality and principles ,aim is gain time to diffuse tension, divide the locals, create hate for the insurgents, lure them with money and comfort and this is how Malay Emergency was won, there fore one must portray himself as a saint patron which Templer did and yet hides the iron hand . In the end British succeed because they paid heed to following

‘ To make war upon rebellion is messy and slow, like eating soup with a knife’

Colonel T.E.Lawrence ,*Seven Pillars Of Wisdom*

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## Full Moon

Mariox says that I have a fascination with full moon and I don't deny that I do have. Today the 9<sup>th</sup> of April 2009 it's a full moon and I have just come upstairs after watching rather staring at it for hours, its cloudy yet it was satisfying to see that golden globe of madness. I first had an affair with full moon in Thailand on that island of Khosa muay with Ingrid and from that point onwards it became part of me, especially the moon that I witness in Skardu with my family

Here I am counting my stay in terms of full moon, now seven full moons have eclipsed and five more to go. When it rises it is towards the east and around midnight it is at right angles to my room and after that it comes over the trees and as I walk towards it I can get an angle from where I can stare it through the branches of trees and later at night it comes over the houses on Bellshaugh lane and if I walk more towards the houses than at one

particular angle it is straight over the houses and gives a haunted look, I normally put on music through ear phones and enjoy tea with Vodka and moon. So many seasons have passed, I remember the day when it was snowing and even then I went down to have a look and was caught staring by the guard Alfred and from then onwards me and Alfie became friends he is in his seventies and I came to know that he is married for over forty five years with same woman and now he teases me with questions .when is full moon? Initially it was damp thus I could not sit on grass but tonight it was comfortable. I remember my family through full moon, I listen to their voices, their laughter and cries all through full moon.

### **Camphill**

I am working as a patrol guard in this area since December 15<sup>th</sup> and today is 15<sup>th</sup> February ,I normally come here on week end and at times I have been doing the job in between also, my duty starts at 1700 and finishes at 0200

It is a residential area in the south of Glasgow city next to Queens Park on Lexington Avenue, it consists of around five hundred families living in flats. The flats are around twenty years old they are made of brick but not painted or plastered, only two blocks are more than three floors rest all are generally double storeyed

Area is bounded on its one side by a main road and on its front is a small road and behind is another small road but there is a fence there and on last side there is another block of flats

Somebody asked me once ,are they rich people? And my answer was in England you are either rich or poor, so these people are not poor but yet they are not rich as well, if cars are the datum level to gauge any body's wealth then these are a mixture of people, there are BMW, Mercedes, and Ford Fiesta, Suzuki Alto, Skoda, and few plumbing vans as well

The whole complex is divided into almost twelve blocks named as Bute Court, Alisa, Lethington, Mooray, Gloucester and so on, they are three roads that lead into this complex from the front and a path way as well. The demography of the people is majority white, very few Asians and even fewer east Europeans although they are difficult to judge in that way. The age group of people is also mixed young ,middle age and old and some are very old, I will come to that fact later, most are families, there are children as well but as there number is low in overall city thus they are not in big numbers and neither are teenagers, the area is not very huge but neither it is small, there is one medium size rather small park in the middle and there are almost small lawn in front of every block, trees are in numbers, flats are small maybe one to two bed ,a kitchen a lounge a store and and a toilet, lifts are there in only two blocks, it generally takes me at a very leisurely pace to complete one round in zig zag manner around forty minutes

Shall I start from beginning or from present, well its 1950 15<sup>th</sup> February now and I am waiting for police to come because one of the garage door was opened when I came here at 1700 hours and the garages are separated from others with a thick fly proofing and I duly informed my supervisor about this and now he is here and we both are waiting for the police to come, this is the first time that I am waiting for police other wise nothing has ever happened at least in my duty, yes last week two window glasses were broken in the ground floor flats and I did not took notice, however the system here works in a different manner

The company for which I work AAA security has a contract for providing security to this premises and is hired by the people of these flats, the guard comes here everyday from 1700-0200 hours and in day time there is a caretaker as well, not that it is a crime infested area rather people are generally more scared than they should be, but its their prerogative

On my first day I was shown the area by the supervisor who is a Indian ,student rather an engineer and working now as supervisor ,there are fourteen points mand guarding is

electronic,I have one electric device called Co=Guard,its hand held and I have to touch it with these fourteen points that are spread all over the complex,the touching points are about a mobile phone size and placed on trees and walls,the supervisor took me around and showed it,I could not remember all of them and their location,between each complete patrol and next one there is a break of twenty minutes and I have a room with heater ,radio and tea maker,company also gave a mobile which has to be in pocket while on patrol

My very first night was spent in locating the points,I was able to remember about nine points and the rest I had a general idea like trees,hedges and a fence.I practically searched touched and scanned every tree and was able to locate three more still two more were left which I found next night,I read the instructions which were in guard room,there was a mark difference in what I had been groomed in army and what was here.In army you can always have an excuse and someone else to blame and most importantly there is always someone to cover you up and equally important ,someone to let you down as well but it was pure commercial,I am being paid in terms of hours and there is specified things that I have to perform,nothing more nothing less,I cannot say today it is snowing so I can have five minutes more break and neither anyone expects me to stay even a minute more than specified even if I sense danger

It was a cold night and I remember my mother because had she known this fact that her only son is on patrol on a cold night I am sure she would not have taken a blanket herself also ,such is her love and on the other hand my wife would have prayed for more rain and cold ,just to get even with me

When I walked on patrol I had no feeling for the people who were living in the flats,it was weird because never in my life had I been void of feeling while on duty,at least the regimental pride was always there if nothing else,but here all I had was my personal pride,I remember the time when I first went out to check a guard on my first day in army in Sargodha almost quarter of century before and with same mental feeling I walked,I was a duty officer checking the guards in a cantonment and that's all.The major difference was that these guards were electronic ,I cannot ask them 'how is your morale,how is your family young man,when did you last go on leave,what you had in dinner, I hope sergeant major is not that tough on you and neither could they complain about the food,the heating arrangements,the number of duties or similar suggestion,I started enjoying the duty as it provided me time to think of my past,moreover I considered myself lucky as now I had the opportunity to see and observe the locals from close range,I can stare at a flat,I can stand at the crossing for as much time as I like I can walk at the backyard of the flats and I have no hesitation to admit that I enjoyed this little power in an alien land

I kept a diary with me and in those twenty minutes of break I would write what I felt. I was reading Commandant of Auschwitz an autobiography and found it absorbing thus on patrol I would mentally think about that , I met an old English lady of around seventy plus and she asked me 'are you our new guard and I replied affirmative and she answered 'people say you are good. My morale went sky rocketing

I had one problem and that was I did not know where is the toilet,neither Nomal showed me any one and neither I asked him about this,but now the cold along with couples of tea and I had an urge to pee but where,on my top there was a birthday party going on and from voices I could make out that it of a woman and not that of a child,moreover the ladies would stand in the window to smoke,had it be Pakistan I would not have felt any major problem but here in Scotland I knew from my course on security that it is an offense to pee in open and secondly the company would not have liked it a bit to know that I was peeing in open but I had to pee,thus there is a dark patch about thirty meters from the guard room and

grassy as well so I walked as I am there to see the area and then I opened the zip and peed, but it got on my mind as to what will happen if I have upset stomach, I am casual by nature and never really bothered about this aspect of life but here it was a different ball and game

The second major aspect was that I had bought a tin of corned beef and as I tried to open it I cursed Brazilian because it went through my hand like a knife, I had bleeding which seemed unstoppable, luckily I had a white handkerchief and wrapped it around but it hardly worked

The night went on and I regularly patrolled, it was pre Christmas time and many of the houses were decorated with trees and other had few lights, now from an observer point of view the question which I debated in my patrol was, why there are some having lights and other not, any kind of question can arise in a guard's mind and this decorations of the flats remained my constant point of focus, I will with the passage of time observe certain more houses getting trees but overall their number was much less,

The other lesson which I learnt on that night was the value of money, it's not easy to earn money, probably this was the first time in my life that I was earning money through hard work, I don't consider army life as hard work it was fun and money was never a part of army life but here life revolves around money and it helped me in understanding certain cultural aspects,

### **Kew**

My dissertation is about Air observation post between 1939-1947, I was happy to do about this as I have profound interest in this subject and it was through this that I came to know about Kew the national archives.

My friend Lawrence had the topic about Malay and he informed me that he would be going to London and he has a friend's flat thus I was welcome, last week 13<sup>th</sup> April 2009 I as usual without any forward planning just moved out of my flat with an intention to go to London, soon all my ideas were dispersed as I found out that it is easy to travel in East than in West, you really have to book everything beforehand on net and thus I had to travel to Edinburgh first and then catch a bus after five hours from there, I got the last seat on that bus and after a hectic long night of travelling which was as good or bad as in my country I reached London, my mobile battery was finished, but because of Archives detail instructions I managed to reach there, taking a district line from Victoria for Richmond and got down at Kew.

It's so typical British, clean streets, small railway station, it was a warm and sunny day, I text Lawrence and then sat outside a small café, had breakfast and tea, changed my three hundred dollars and got 180 pounds. Lawrence came and we both walked for a while, after ten minutes walk we were there. What an impressive building it is, Lawrence guided me all along. First I deposited my bag in the locker room then walked up stairs and entered all my details on the computer and after that I walked in to a sitting office and a woman checked my ID, took my pictures and there and then my Reader Ticket was handed to me without any charges, now I can access and read original files. Later on another computer, there are plenty of them there, I searched the documents selected three, you can order three at a time and twenty one files in one day, it takes almost half an hour for files to be placed in my locker in reading room, computer also book a seat for you in the reading room as well. You can take only pencil without rubber and a note book inside the restricted area, and all the way you have to scan through your reader's card, the staff is highly cooperative and what a feeling it is to touch original documents of World War Two,

You can take digital pictures of the documents as many as you wish, you can take print out of the documents, all you have to do is to get up and walk to three scanning

machines, scratch your card, put money in there it cost 20p per copy, and placed the file on the desk and press buttons and paper after paper comes out, you can do fifteen copies per session. You can book your files for tomorrow as well, the archives open at 0900 hours but access to readers room is at 0930 hours and you can place orders for files at 0945 hours which will be placed in your glass shelf after 45 minutes and that's all. The staff roam around and keep eye on the people, you cannot read file holding in hand, the paper is delicate and old. All around I see people of various ages and colours doing research and busy in history. majority give scholarly looks maybe it's the aura of the place.

There is a café downstairs where you can have coffee and lunch and certainly you go out to smoke, there is a book shop and museum as well. it's a very friendly place. I met Mr Rafi Imtiaz a Pakistani who told me that in his ten years of service I am the fourth Pakistani which he has seen here.

### **Glasgow University library**

I am fond of libraries not only for reading books but also for stealing books, I do admit that I find no immorality in stealing books from library and then generally donating it to another library, the other feature of my life at least for last two decades and even before that has been that I have always paid fines to the libraries, despite my best effort I have never been able to avoid it and always either I become very good friend with librarian or I am blacklisted from it. With this background I took keen interest in university library,

The library is imposing and stood in almost in centre of university although not in the main complex yet no student can avoid it or by pass it. When on second or third day I went into it, the first thing was that it had automatic doors then there are barriers which are opened only when you place your card over it they are magnetic, it has eleven floors and there are two security guards which sit at the entrance. The first step was to get the library card and I was told that there is no library card rather my university registration card will work as the library card. After I got my registration card rather before it because it took much longer time as compared to the others I was issued a temporary card to draw the books and I drew few books and when I had got the card then I went back and searched the library.

On its different floors there are books on different subjects. The ground floor has the reference books which can be drawn for 4 hours to one week and then the other floors deal with varying subjects. It looks simple but it was not the case with me. My subject was War thus I went to that section on floor eight {it has lifts} and was disappointed to find only one shelf dealing with military science and cursed the university for that. I was also told and directed how to open my computer account, it happened after an incident, I went to library and tried to issue a book but the computer refused to acknowledge my account. The procedure of getting a book issued is simple, you place your registration card on a machine and then you place the books and each book has a bar code, after you have issued the books the machine gives you a print out and that's all. Next day I went again to find out the reason of this and I was told that I have a fine of over 30 pounds in my name, I was shock and amused at the same time, at least my old record has remained intact in paying the fine but I question the lady on the counter, there are over four counters. She told me that the book which I got issued was required by another student as well and library had send me the message on my email and I have not returned the books thus there is fine for that. I confessed that I have been daily checking my mail but never found any mail from library it was after some time that I realised that she is talking about student mail account about which I was unaware thus first I opened that account and had a pleasant debate with lady about the fine, it was classic in every sense and after some time she waived all but one pound and I also gave up and paid the fine.

Library is an indicator of how students behave and their life pattern. On week ends it was a pleasant surprise to find a large number of students studying here till late, library opens at 0730 hours and close at 0200 hours at night. I was also impressed that a post graduate student can draw books upto 40 in numbers for three months, and it is here that they have another built in system, now if I have drawn forty books and someone else also requires the same book then he can check it on library net where all books are displayed and can place that book on hold thus I will be send a message on net and also a postal mail to return the book after seven days, I can also renew my books on net by simply ticking them and that is so simple but it took me time to understand this.

Every book has many copies and some can be drawn for overnight or on hourly basis as well. There are enough computers and printing plus photocopying facilities and again they are all computer oriented for instance for photocopying you need to buy a card of two pounds and then take the books for photocopying and do it yourself, naturally I could not do it myself and required help in all stages, I enjoyed this feeling of almost total ignorance in dealing with these gadgets but all students were helpful.

You cannot smoke inside thus outside on steps one finds a number of students sitting and smoking, it's a good meeting place but I never saw anyone wasting time there yet it is the hub of all activities.

My biggest shock came when one day accidentally I found that all the books which I have purchased out of frustration because I thought they were not available in the university library were available but in history section. I was ashamed of myself that why I did not explore it the way I have explored the Oran Mor Pub. It has a very rich collection of military history books and rare record as well. I am grateful to my friends Martin and Marzia who spend almost their whole days from morning till late at night in library and thus I also develop that routine and finally after six months of stay in university I was able to claim that tonight on 6<sup>th</sup> April I was the last one to leave the library.

This library has also helped me in understanding the western culture to some extent. I have seen the new generation spending countless hours here, it would not be wrong to say that one can find equal numbers of student here as in university night club on any given day. Almost every student holds the door open for other student as courtesy and other one always acknowledge it by saying 'Cheers'. One thing is sure it's impossible to steal any book from here and neither I have any intention of doing it but I am interested in knowing how the library deals with lost books which I am having an intuition that sooner or later I will face it. One thing more in the toilets I have found graffiti done which needs no further explanation.

### **Mariox**

Its Wednesday 10<sup>th</sup> December 2008 1900 hours and it was Monday 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2008 at 1345 hours when I met her

As is my routine and its not that regular one yet on every first day of every month I invariably try to get into a new routine and it was one of those days, it was cold, not very cold and I from my university hostels walked out to buy the pipe tobacco and walked through the Botanic Gardens and made a right turn and stood at the crossing, it was red signal yet people do try to cross and one woman, an elegant one was trying to do so but then changed her mind, I somehow the other always get encouraged when I see a woman crossing in this way, I asked her 'Go ahead' and she replied 'well I am unlucky in this aspect' and then signal turned green and we walked, now no body else on this gods earth other than me knows what was in my mind at that time, the fact is I wanted to be with this woman and after crossing the road, she said what are you doing and I think very next moment she said 'lets have coffee' and my heart literally rotated on this invitation. My biggest problem is that I always see in future, I

presume what will happen and then in a way try to make the things happen. Thus I was flabbergasted with this woman who told her name as Marion, but I took it as Mariox, she got busy with her money withdrawal machine next to Sommerfield market and I got puzzled as what to do, shall I go in to get my pipe tobacco or wait for her to finish her task. There were two thoughts running in my mind, if I go inside and she finishes her task and can just walk away and other was if she finishes her task and then I go inside then again she can get bored and walk away, so I took some seconds and move to and fro, few steps towards her and then few steps towards the shop. I finally managed the pipe tobacco.

It would not be out of question to say that till now I was one of those few unlucky people who walk alone on Byres road and see the couples holding hand in hand and walking with warmth and love. All those who have enjoyed this feeling in the past and I am no exception always feel something missing when its winter time,

Well we walked and she bought her cigarettes, no I think we first went to beano coffee and had the coffee, she a cappuccino and myself a black one. I was intoxicated with her Scottish English accent, I love this accent, because it always stressed up few words in a peculiar manner, she told me her age is fifty three, she is divorced, her daughter is thirty five and lives in Yorkshire and she intends visiting her on this Christmas, and she lives close by, alone, her flat was bought by her friend Jerry to whom she pays regular monthly rent and that Jerry is a gay.

My coffee was cold and generally I hate drinking coffee from coffee house but it was her company which made it sweet,

There is a psychological reason to everything which we do, I felt as I am part of the this society now, I have come to Glasgow after retiring from army and having two kids who are age fifteen and the girl age eleven and everyday I remember them and their mother who herself is a major doctor in army and our was a love marriage yet from the beginning we had this mental variation which was mainly due to mine smoking hash and listening pink floyd and her looking at the world with a suspicious manner and feeling insecure and later down the years feeling too secure.

Well do have anything to do in the evening, I asked her and she with all the innocence said no,

Would you like to go with me to primary, it's a bar, where the theatrical students meet every Monday, I explained

Why not, she replied.

Marion told me, she was born in Kilmarnock, got married at the age of seventeen, had her daughter and then got divorced from her husband as he used to beat her,

I was taken aback by her sheer honesty

I got married to this guy, he already had three children, and he was alcoholic, I worked in the bar and then I got my daughter back from my first husband after a legal battle at Edinburgh.

Taking a sip from her coffee she said, interrupting me as I said something about my visit to Spain a couple of years back

I went to Spain in 2001, I had this friend and she had two new born children and her husband had left her for Spain where he lived with his parents and I was taking care of these kids on the eve of new millennium, I was now more interested in her and her story as I always like this aspect of human culture which is revealed by people and not by media, I thought so they do care of their friends

We just got the flight and arrived at Spain with my friend and her two children and amiir, she lengthened my name more than what it sounds, this house was on the edge of a town and the house was broken because they had not paid the electric bill so where I was

living that portion had no electricity and there was nothing in the house to eat for a week because I was a vegetarian ,so for over a week I ate nothing but bread and milk and one day we finally went to the market and there they bought the food stuff and look at this I had to pay for this ,the father in law of my friend was a kind of notorious person and he said to me'You should ccall me juan it looks gracefull'.He runs a rent a car business and he had promised us before our arrival that he would arrange a car ,so we can have a trip and now there was nothing and we were away from the city so we were stuck up,the heat,hunger and all this was too much ,I nearly had a nervous break down,so one day I finally made a plan with my friend to get away from here,there was a function coming which we had attended ,the children were sick yet ,my friends father in law was adamant to take them along as it would enhance his staure

I called a taxi and as quickly as possible we all got into it ,I throwing the things inside and we hid under the seats and reached the airport and I just asked the counter any flight any where in england,Aberdeen Manchester,London anywhere we just want to go away,and believe me for another an hour we just hid in the bathroom of the airport.

I was thoroughly enjoying this story and was engrossed in her words and sense of humour and felt at ease,

Lets get out she said,

Okay

I have never said these things to woman, let they say no,I never resist what ever they say or desire

We came out and walked from Crawford street to Byres Road and than she got her cigarettes and we walked back to Ashton Lane and went into the pub and got two beers ,for which I paid,I feel really odd in asking a woman to pay for her drinks or coffee and on the other hand I can never have the courage to ask any one else to pay for my drinks,luckily I had a twenty pound note in my pocket,previously I had always been carrying a ten quid note but now they had finished so I carry this one and this was the first day of them.

I am a student and the one who is on self finance and that too on his pension and moreover I hate working thus I have no other source of income as well.

We sat out side and she rolled her fag and I lit my pipe and took a sip from beer and thank god for all this, I met one student the greek boy who lived in my block and I waved him as I wanted him to see that I am also sitting with a pretty woman, and I could see the impact in his eyes.

After finishing the beer we got up and walked started walking towards the ,there was a man standing there with a glass in his hands and was asking for alms,I had been in that state of affairs in my youth and perfectly like and respect these people and Marion also stood there and started talking to him and gave lecture cum shouldering and the man narrated his story He had children and loves alchol and lives on alms plus social security and we talked about many things,infact she talked I just stood there smiking pipe and in the end she gave him a big hug,and I thought when I was in france in this state none had given me hug and had anybody done that I would have been on moon ,then.

As we started walking she held my hand,and what feeling it was ,holding some one 's hand and walking,and I admit we look good ,I in my great coat and she in her length long black coat,I could have asked for nothing more

I had to return the library books and thus we climbed up and walked to the university library ,she in between told me that she had been in arts school after her divorce and than worked for warner brothers and also why she does not like Americans

Aamiir they ate such a big steak ,this big she made the size with her hand,and 'they think I am stupid,because of my English,they will speak so slowly to make me understand but I knew them '

I returned the books in library and she developed conversation with the security guards and by this time I had realised she is a compulsive talker and conversationist

We walked along criss lane and had to go to the Primary which I knew where is located but was not sure of the path,thus holding hand in hand we walk and talk,she told me how she had attempted to commit suicide and how she remained a mental patient,in that chill even this look romantic and we reached primary.

Sorry I forgot after leaving the library it was almost seven o clock so I took marian to Grillicious

Grillious is a fast food joint owned and run by a Pakistani by the name of Khalid,and this is the first place in my life where I have cut onions,any way mariox preferred fish and chips and so do I,and talked about the food and so on,she doesnot like colas and wanted a water which I fetched for her and I could see the eyes of Khalid ,he had admiration for me and for her as well,

We walked from grillious hand in hand and reached primary,this was my first time in primary ,it's a big pub an old one and there Ben Watson ,emzy and few others ,we reached counter and she ordered beer and so did I,I paid for both and sat in the couch in one corner ,across and after some time she said she is hard of hearing and sat next to me and we again talked and talked,she told me about her days in hampden,hash ,drugs ,alcohol and so on ,we went out and sat on a bench and smoke cigarette and she remembered she had been here almost twenty years ago and pondered whether this bar was here then or not,she told me about Lonzo her friend at hampden ,her last affair almost six months back which almost killed her,because of emotional drain and I simply kept listening and wondering where it will lead to,we had another drinks and since I had ran out of money and thus she paid and I did not felt odd.

It was almost ten and we walked back ,on great western road ,hand in hand ,like two old friends and turned to Queen margratet drive,it was chilly and frosty and I had to hold her lest she slipped and than across the canal bridge and she narrated me how once she and her husband were coming back late one night and how she after a fight preferred walking alone home and was attacked by a mugger and how she fought them and we walked and finally reached the stairs which were dark and slippery and we climbed up and turn right and after a block we both reached the front of her block and she said'Would you like to have a tea' and my world stopped there as all was happening the way I have read ,dreamed and experienced my only worry aprt from the essay which I had to submit at the end of week was 'will it get up'in this frost and I walked in and she closed the door and turned back and that was the first we hugged each other ,it is a small and neat apartment ,as you entered a small bedroom on your left and than a big bedroom,big in comparison to the small one,an en suite, a washroom in front and a lounge on your right ,we entered the lounge and there was white sofa,white seats,white mac and flatsrceen and she said all is helped by Garry,she went to her room and came back in a black pyjama and shirt and started making tea and I was now wondering what should I do,shall I hold her and kiss her,but what if she doesnot like this,thus there was this mental battle going on,one part of my brain was saying go ahead and touch her and other the natural one was just waiting for her next move,finally I slowly and shyly touched her:no reaction and than I touched agin and she was happy and we sat on sofa,she put on music,and I mentally went back almost eighteen years ago to a similar flat and circumstances in New

York and she kept on talking,I noticed she prefers talking more than listening and would give me some time to say some thing but than again talked

My father was a railway mechanic and my grandfather was a cobbler and when I was a kid,there was no hot water in our house and we used to warm the water in the tub,the toilet was out side ,I never liked church and would question about going to church but my mother would send me there and after some time I started hiding in my grand mothers house till my mother came to know about this,my father used to love me much,I was the only child and he would cook the food and he never liked junk food and my mother would like to eat chocolates and so on,

I was entering into an era about which I was always inquisitiveness ,and she was right from the frame,

I couldnot thank my stars for meeting her,but the big question was ,what next,as freud said,whats on mans mind and on my mind was when she is going to kiss me and would take me to her bed and what will I do,but I was listening and we finished our first cup of tea and she got up to make the next cup and I also followed her and hug her from behind

‘I don’t like this fast,I prefer things going slow’. This came to me as a shock and reality and I started looking her with new dimension, what is she, what is in her mind, why was I thinking of her in other aspect ,it was all due to watching too much porn.

Anyway I felt sheepish and remained silent and we had next cup of tea and now I was listening more intently and with new respect and new vision,all that I have been thinking all day has come to nothing,absolutely changed;’well I am tired and I had to go sleep’ It was an indication to me and I also got up put my flying shoes and graet coat and gave her one final kiss and walked out in bloody cold night and started walking back to queen margratet residence which was well over two kilometres away.But it was an interesting walk I kept on thinking about the days event,I had her number and she had mine,so we will meet each other again and I finally reached my room and started working on my essay ‘How important was strategic air power in the out come of second world war’ but now my mind was fresh and healthy ,I did not watched porn and concentrated on essay and had a good sleep and in the morning thought of her.

I text her next day and did again by mid day,although it looks odd but texting has its limitation as doesnot convey the feelings

## **Was the Outcome of The Afghan Conflict of 1979-1989, a product more of Afghan strength or of Soviet Weakness.**

Afghanistan has an area that equals to that of France, Holland, Belgium and Denmark combined or it is five times bigger than Vietnam ,it had a population of 17 million in 1979,which is 99% Muslim{90% Sunni,10 % Shia}and 85% of this population lived in rural area having a literacy rate of 10%, there are no railways in Afghanistan,80% of area is mountainous ,it had 19000 kilometres of road out of which only 25% was paved. Afghanistan shares a 2,348 Kilometres of border with Russia on west and north,2,180 Kilometres with Pakistan on east,820 kilometres with Iran in south and 73 Kilometres with China in north<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Lester Grau and,Michael Gress ,eds, *The Soviet Afghan War,How a superpower fought and lost a war*,{Kansas university press,2002},p,1-5

In April 1978 the Russian backed left wing coup in Afghanistan resulted in a wide spread social reforms that included education of women as well, soon the tribal society took up arms as it was against their customs. By 1979 the rebels had captured major town and even regular Afghan army started defecting ,in line with ‘Breznev doctrine’ the Russian army came into Afghanistan on the request of state, internationally USA had lost Iran and all its listening posts against Russia thus a major military invasion from them in area was on card.

### **Soviet Union**

Russian 40<sup>th</sup> army with a strength of 81,800 troops having two motorized divisions, one airborne division, one air assault brigade, two motorised regiments, under the name of Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces{LCOS} all in all having over hundred combat units supported by requisite number of aircraft and gunships<sup>86</sup> crossed over the international border at 1200 GMT 25<sup>th</sup> December 1979 and was in position by mid January 1980. Its primary aim was to relieve the Afghan army of garrison duties and to push them and support them in fighting the insurgency.

### **Mujahedeen**

Mujahedeen is an Arabic word which means ‘one who fights in Allah’s way’<sup>87</sup> the religious authorities who wielded great power declared Jihad{holy war} against the soviets because they are infidels thus created a frenzy among population. The insurgency was already there against the afghan army by over a dozen parties who all were styled on linguistic, ethnic, sectarian and tribal hierarchy, majority of them were educated professionals like Hikmat Yar and Ahmed Shah Masood both university graduates and other like Moulvi Khalis and Rabbani were religious preachers. These mujahedeen were based on locality and village concept similar to ‘German hundred’ concept and had varying strength of 200-2000, majority were interested in looting and raiding. some of them were based in Pakistan for logistic reasons. Mujahedeen were unpaid religious volunteer fighters.

### **First Phase 1980-1984**

Initially mujahedeen continued their way of fighting as they were doing against the afghan army ie attacking in large number and holding the area and positions but soon they suffered heavy casualties and resorted to combat bands of 20-150 mujahedeen. The major area of interest was attacking the convoys by ambush. Mujahedeen were underarm ,in one instance in 1980 a group of ten mujahedeen ambush a ‘soviet convoy of over forty trucks by using two RPG-7 and three AK-47’<sup>88</sup> and same pattern was observed all over the country . Soviets responded with battalion size retaliation forces that would carry out the sweep of the area supported by gunship, The soviet analysis later revealed that their ‘inherent adherence to conventional style of fighting and training was inadequate to answer the problem’<sup>89</sup>. In one instance a soviet battalion was ambushed while clearing a village as it failed to clear the flanks ‘as the fire came from the top , we remained paralyse for minutes , none could give even order to fire as we all waited for senior officer to do so’<sup>90</sup>

This pattern of small level hit and run was most common and caused constant bleeding of the soviets.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid p.17-18

<sup>87</sup> Mohammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin *The Battle for Afghanistan ,the Soviets versus the Mujhadeen during the 1980s* ,{Pen and Sword,Yorkshire,2007},p,33

<sup>88</sup> Ali Jalali and Lester Grau,*Afghan Guerrilla Warfare in the words of the Mujahideen fighters*,{MBI,Mminnesota,2001},p,5-6

<sup>89</sup> Lester and Gress *Soviet Afghan War*,p,19

<sup>90</sup> Lester Grau, *The Bear went over the Mountains,Soviet Combat Tactics in Afghanistan*,{Frank Cass,London,1996},p,2-4

Yet in Panjsher valley the pattern was different, mujahedeen under Masood held the valley and fought pitch battles with soviets, this 90 miles long valley is almost a hundred kilometres north of Kabul and controls the strategic Salang Highway, the life line of Russian forces. For eight years the soviets launched over nine major attacks all having excess of division plus forces supported by bombers, fighters and gunships yet they failed to overcome a group of not more than five thousand mujahedeen under Masood who came to be known as 'Lion Of Panjsher'.

By 1981 Pakistan was supporting the mujahedeen with arms, the Reagan administration was also active but no American weapons were provided rather Russian weapons from third source were given .China, Egypt, Italy, Britain, Saudi Arabia and UAE were providing the funds and weapons. 'In 1983 some 10,000 tons of ammunition was provided to guerrillas'<sup>91</sup>. Inter service Intelligence of Pakistan was the brain but mujahedeen were not yet united neither they had any centralised command or doctrine, it was fight for the sake of fight.

Russians adopted themselves to the new realities by changing their tactics and now relied on all means. They bombed the villages to deny the food, they adopted scorched earth policy, they resorted to winning of heart and mind policy and even had a year of truce with Masood .Militarily they did not increased their strength .

### **Second phase 1985-1989**

In this phase the Russian underwent political changes back home and LCOS were given a year in field {1986} to either win or be ready for withdrawal thus intense heavy fighting was conducted. Both sides were now experienced and knew each other strength and weakness. In 1985 the Russians did increased their military strength but it was marginal. As one Russian officer wrote 'By 1985 the mujahedeen became masters of stubbornly retaining highly defensible area and attacking our forces with ambushes'<sup>92</sup>.

Russian thus conducted one of the most fierce attacks in Panjsher valley and adopted new tactics of using gun ships for landing assault troops at heights, multiple axis attacks, and above all surprise.1985 was the bloodiest in the whole campaign and balance was in soviet favour. Brigadier Yousaf admits 'through out mid -1985...our attempts to take Khost had failed, we had suffered casualties, soviet high command had apparently gained initiative'<sup>93</sup>.The stinger shoulder fired missile changed the complexion of war, rarely has one weapon made such a drastic outcome to any war. Mujahedeen got stingers in 1986 and 'shot down six gunships in one encounter'<sup>94</sup> this changed the scenario to some extent, moreover mujahedeen were now more disciplined and their attacks were now coordinated thanks to Pakistan who brokered a seven parties alliance among them and kept it intact despite in house feuds.

The Satakonda attack is a classic as it displays some flavour of the war ,it took place in 1987 when almost a whole Russian division tried to open up Khost-Gardez road which was under mujhadeen control since 1980,in the words of one mujahedeen commander

'we took hold of the two passes and had our positions on high ground, and laid three tier mine belts on the hair pin road.....yet Russians achieved surprise their gun ships landed air assault troops on high grounds and they bombed our villages,we were forced by enemy to move further up the mountains, we were dying of thirst ...we launched twelve prong attack and finally Russians left the valley and also heavy luggage''.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Yousaf, and Adkin *Battle for Afghanistan*, p.,86-98

<sup>92</sup> Lester Grau *Bear went over Mountains*, p 31-32.

<sup>93</sup> Yousaf and Adkin ,*Battle for Afghanistan*,p,164-166

<sup>94</sup> Ibid p.174-178

<sup>95</sup> Jalali and Lester,*Afghan Guerrilla Warfare*,p,165-173.

### Analysis

Soviet Union was a military super power and had a rich strategic military culture thus it is illogical to assume that they did not studied the Malay and Vietnam campaigns, rather in subsequent time period they employed all the lessons, they tried to win the heart and minds of people by giving amnesty, tried to split the mujahedeen by having peace accord for a year with Masood in Panjsher Valley, they used ruthless force as well ,isolated the mujahedeen from local population through food denial policy and scorched earth ,crops, orchids, oasis were bombed and sprayed. Anti personnel mines were an innovative idea whereby they instead of killing rather maimed the mujahedeen thus not only decimating fighting potential but also ensuring another couples of mujahedeen who will attend the injured are put out of action.

Russian from the start had few serious limitations, namely the conscription and under strength regiments coupled with poor training. The soldier had to serve for two years in army and mostly joined Afghanistan after few weeks without even having fired the weapons, their living conditions in Afghanistan were poor and many were 'caught selling their weapons to mujahedeen'<sup>96</sup>, most importantly the army as a whole was trained and cultured for a war in Europe and not for counterinsurgency in a mountainous terrain

The soviets tactics did evolved from the experience, they inducted mountain battalions later and initiated a mountain training school and things improved to an extent that by 1985 they were looking for a victory, it changed with the induction of stinger shoulder fired missile which negated their main tactical advantage of gun ships.

Soviets apparently had a limited political aim, they never attacked the bases inside Pakistan which were the mujahideen's strength and neither did they increased their force level drastically, as American did it in Vietnam where they had over half a million force for an area one fifth of Afghanistan.

Guerrillas {mujahideen} from the beginning were fighting on tribal issues of honour loyalty and religious zeal, their tactics were centuries old proven methods of guerrillas mainly ambush and raids which they conducted with brilliance and courage ,as early as 1980 they were hitting the convoys. The initial tactics of fighting in large numbers and conventional style soon proved fatal and they resorted to minor groups intent upon bleeding the enemy without any strategic aim, they till 1984 remained in factions and seldom supported each other rather at times they fought with each other, despite suffering heavy casualties from soviets in term of percentage of killed they remained in fighting spirits.

They adopted their own drills and tactics ,like making mines from unexploded Russian bombs ,laying ambushes to the gun ships and attacking and defending strong points. Bombing urban areas, kidnapping Russians were also their salient points. Their main advantage was in being light weight and having almost negligible logistics tail ,they were excellent shots, scouts and courageous in nature, in brief they were modern day Spartans with a dash of zealots and Jewoh's convents but with a much higher tendency towards violence and ruthlessness.

### Foreign Aid

Mujahedeen were supported by the Pakistan ,America and other western allies ,the presence of having a strong base in Pakistan was of great help, they were provided with training and new weapons apart from medical and intelligence guidelines. Over 5 million refugees were in Pakistan. The pipe line of logistics ran very long and thus mujahedeen had to occupy and defend their forward bases in close vicinity to border ,the aid of heavy weapons from western also posed problems as it increased the pay load of a fighter, it was result of these two that mujahedeen suffered their heavy casualties in 1987 and 1988 in Khost province.

### Conclusion

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid,p,371

The loss of Roman Legion in 'Teutoberger Forest'<sup>97</sup> cannot be attributed to lack of training on part of roman army ,similarly the Russian with drawl from Afghanistan was not a weakness of the army but it was the strength of the mujahedeen that resulted in this milestone .It was clash of two military strategic cultures, the Russian's revolved around mass numbers ,technology, fire power, combine arm tactics and manoeuvre , centralised disciplined force, lack of individual initiative, and living in civilised environments. Soviets lost 13,833 men and other 43000 were wounded, they also lost 118 jets,333 helicopters,147 tanks,433 artillery pieces and 11,369 trucks<sup>98</sup>.

On the other hand was a primitive culture relying upon individual skill, courage, faith, mobility, swiftness, less logistic weight ,individual initiative, pride and inherent military training .This was the major difference between two rivals and in the end primitive culture prevailed upon technology because terrain suited it and local population was behind the ideology which was based upon religion.

Mujhahideen could have been defeated had Russian opted for a total war,a war without any morals or ethics based upon total utilisation of their force and fire power but in the end every war has one aim ;peace and that is never possible when total force is used,yet it cannot absolved the Russian forces from the fact that they failed to overcome the mujahideen thus it is pertinent to conclude that Russian forces were not geared for guerrilla warfare.

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<sup>97</sup> Hans Delbruck,*The Barbarian Invasion*,{Nebraska University Press,London,1990},p,69-95.

<sup>98</sup> Lester Grau ,*Bear went over Mountains*,p,xix

<http://www.wikipedia.org/> {accessed 10-25<sup>th</sup> January 2009}

## To What Degree Do The Taliban, Differ From The 1980'S Mujahidins

Afghanistan has a history of violence and armed resistance and they are the only Islamic country which in last two hundred years have not come under any foreign or non Islamic regime. 'Mujahideen' is an Arabic word which means holy warrior and it is used to identify Afghans who fought against the soviet backed regime and soviet forces between 1979-1989, after the withdrawal of soviets the mujahideen groups which were having inherent linguistic and religious differences fought among each other as ruthlessly as they were fighting against the communists and this led to another fanatic religious group taking birth the 'Taliban' which is a Persian word denoting student of a religious Islamic school<sup>99</sup>, who ruled Afghanistan from 1994 till their military defeat by American forces in 2001 for their alleged protection to the most hunted organisation and man in history Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. The hunt is still on and talibans have not been eliminated rather they are still making the headlines, only last week the government of Pakistan have signed a peace accord with their sympathisers in Swat.

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Both Mujahideen and Taliban took birth in Afghanistan which has an area of 252,830 square miles, population in 1979 was 17 million, 99% of them are muslim however there are ancient buddhist remains in Bamian province. literacy rate is less than 10%, majority of population almost 85% lives in rural area<sup>100</sup>. The social pattern of country is wholly male dominating, agriculture is scarce and major crops are opium and related products. Weapon is an ornament of every afghan. The tribal system is the working system based upon centuries old customs and tradition. Elders are respected and so are religious clergy. The Islamic population is divided into two main sects, 90% are sunni and other are shias, both have long history of feud and difference and are backed by Saudi Arabia and Iran. Another distinct feature of Afghan society is its division on linguistic and tribal basis. The Pashtuns are 50% of population and their tribes are mainly in eastern Afghanistan spilling over into neighbouring Pakistan, the northerners are Tajiks and southerners are shia and hazarajats. Afghanistan came into existence in 1747, founded by a pashtun Ahmed Shah Durrani, 'it was then merely a confederation of tribes and khanates'<sup>101</sup>.

Islam is in fact the binding spirit in Afghanistan, all traditions and cultural roots are inline with Islamic teachings which itself is based upon 'Koran' the divine book and 'sunna' the life of Muhammad the prophet of islam. There is a mosque in every village and at times more than two, all Islamic principles like annual pilgrimage to Mecca {once in a life} the annual one month fasting, slaughtering of animals, non interest trade, non alcohol consumption [although afghans were the biggest smugglers of alcohol in region during seventies], the most prominent feature of afghan society is the treatment of women according to Islamic principles which are veil, death for adultery, confinement to house and absence from public life.

The sunni and shias have bitter interpretation of islam and Koran, at times these differences can result in long bloody feuds which annually can claim over hundred of lives. Sunnis and shias seldom offer prayers together, the religious teacher 'Mullah' holds an

<sup>99</sup> Kamal Matinuddin *The Taliban Phenomenon Afghanistan 1994-1997* {Karachi, Oxford,, 1999} p 12

<sup>100</sup> Lester and Michael, ed, *The Soviet Afghan War how a superpower fought and lost*, {Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 2002} p 2-6

<sup>101</sup> Kamal Matinuddin, *The Taliban phenomenon*, {Oxford, Karachi, 1998} p 1

important role in afghan society this title is attained after a talib{student} has studied religion for over twelve years

### *Mujhadeen, The Holy Warriors*

After the April 1978 marxist revolution in Afghanistan over 150 mullahs were confined and imprisoned and after their release these fled to Pakistan and declared 'jihad'<sup>102</sup> the holy war against the communists, many followers joined them and after the soviet invasion ,the western and Pakistani interest in overthrowing the soviets resulted in using this religious 'jihad' to rally the muslim population of not only Afghanistan but also of entire Islamic world ,in Islamic history the people who fought early wars of Islam are also called mujaheed .Thus resistance to soviet became a religious war , it was the battle cry and it worked because soon arabs and other muslims from all over the world started pouring into Pakistan to fight the jihad.

These mujahideen were a blend of tribes,farmers and university students. Two most prominent mujahideen leaders Gul Badin Hikmatyar and Ahmed Shah Masooud were both graduates of Kabul University and many other leaders were either tribal patriarch or moderate religious men like Rabbani and Sayyaf. The difference between them as noted by Brigadier Yousaf was 'moderate can accept a woman in trouser but not in mini skirt where as a fundamentalist cannot'<sup>103</sup>.

Over five million people<sup>104</sup> migrated from Afghanistan to Pakistan ,which by itself is not unusual as majority of these had blood ties in the neighbouring tribes. There was a life that was going on in the camps, which were mainly tents and mud houses inhabited by women ,children and elders. The education which these children received was only religious ,they were raised and groomed for only one purpose to fight, thus a child who was five years old when war broke out in 1979 was fifteen when it ended and thoroughly indoctrinated in religious teaching of war, hate for infidels, and conservatism about women. these seminaries are part of culture and also necessity ,mainly funded by the rich gulf states who prefer having their own brand of sunni islam being spread. The religious seminaries called madreessah is an integral part of culture, they provide free education to boys and it consist of only about religion.in 1992 there were over 100 deeni madrasahs in Pakistan with over 30,000 students<sup>105</sup>.

After the soviet withdrawal on 15<sup>th</sup> February the afghan government held the fort and defied the mujhadeen attacks. The most notable feature was the inter party fighting among the mujahedeens, in one instance the Hikmat yar group ambushed Masood's commanders and killed over a dozen ,in retaliation Masood hunted them and hanged them publicly<sup>106</sup>. Pakistan was actively supporting the mujahedeens in a vain hope to have a consolidated control over Afghanistan. The mujaadeen finally took control of Kabul but it was the northern group of uzbeks who were in control and not the pashtuns. The country was in civil war and war lords took control of varying cities looting, violence and killing was common, that was the state when the Taliban emerged. Thus mujhadeen failed as rulers to provide safety and security to people and country was in anarchy with independent war lords having own control of cities.

### *Rise of Taliban*

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid p,21

<sup>103</sup> Muhammad Yousaf and Mark Adkin, *The Battle for Afghanistan*, {Yorkshire, Pen and Sword, 2007} p. 40

<sup>104</sup> Ahmed Rashid *Descent into Chaos* {London, Penguin, 2008} p. 8

<sup>105</sup> Kamal *Taliban Phenomenon* , pp. 14-16

<sup>106</sup> Stephen Tanner *Afghanistan a military history*, {Massachusetts, Da Capo, 2003 } p. 272

One day in October 1994 there was an incident of sodomy in Kandahar {not unusual} and one Mullah Omar a 39 years old jihad veteran ,who had lost one eye against soviets and wounded couple of times and was passing his time by running a deeni madreessah having 30-40 taliban rushed to the scene along with them and few other comrades, he took hold of situation and from there onwards they within days got control of Kandhar and restored peace<sup>107</sup> .Pakistan also helped them as they escorted their thirty trucks convoy safely through the southern Afghanistan, Taliban also captured over 180000 AK-47 rifles from Spinboldack area. Taliban were young Afghans of pashtun ethnic back ground and sunni by faith ,they were mainly the students of seminaries in Pakistan and in border area, in fact they were the war orphans of jihad who were job less had nothing to look for future and engraved with Islamic values, thus they became the van guard and other groups started following them. Mullah Omar himself stated ‘we took up arms to achieve the aims of the afghan jihad and save our people from further suffering at the hands of the so called mujahdeen’<sup>108</sup> the mujahdeen also joined them as the motto of this movement was restoration of peace in Afghanistan and Islamic values. A total of over 35000 talibans from Pakistan base seminaries joined them majority of them were pashtuns<sup>109</sup> . After taking over Kandhar the Taliban issued decree that put an end to the unrest and lawlessness ,people were ordered to hand over their weapons something unheard of in Afghanistan but it was implemented. It was at this time that they carried out public stoning of adulterers and cutting hands of thieves, they also banned the women from coming into open without full veil. All these acts were in true tradition of islam, Mullah Omar and his colleagues all lived in same mud houses and conducted their chores while sitting on floor which is an Islamic and afghan tradition thus they became a symbol of Islamic renaissance in its purest form ,this is what attracted the Taliban of Pakistan and compelled other mujahideen groups to surrender and join their ranks. Not all mujahideen groups did this and Taliban had to fight pitched battles like in Heerat in 1995. This was a major deviation from the past war as Taliban did not resort to guerrilla warfare rather preferred open attacks.

In 1995 Taliban struck against Hikmat Yar and forced him out of Afghanistan and also clashed against the Shiites Hazaras and on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1995 Taliban came face to face against the Lion Of Panjsher Massoud who gave them first taste of defeat but Taliban retaliated and finally capturing Kabul in September 1996 although the Masooud and Hikmat Yar had united against them. From this point onwards they constantly remained engaged in a war with the northern people of Afghanistan and attempted to capture Mazar Shariff thus till the American invasion of Afghanistan the Taliban were never really in command of Afghanistan ,they had all the country except the Panjshir Valley.

Taliban ideology was very simple. adherence to Islamic teaching of Koran and peace in Afghanistan, they had no political agenda and neither they were working for any country although by virtue of religious affiliation they were close to sunni Pakistan and Saudi Arabia than the shia Iran. The deep rooted conflict between sunni and shias resulted in bitter opposition to Taliban in southern Afghanistan.

Taliban rule was unique because they were living in seventh century Arabia and simulating the life of early caliphs and teaching of prophet coupled with the tradition and customs of afghan. They had no diplomatic ties with any state other than Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, they had no embassy no foreign policy or political agenda, it was the fourteen hundred years old religious book Koran which was their manifesto and everything had to be done according to it ,since Koran states that woman are inferior to men thus they are, as Koran states the punishment of adultery is public stoning thus it has to be like this. ‘the woman mother of seven has confessed killing her husband ,sentence of death upheld by three

<sup>107</sup> Peter Marsden, *The Taliban, War ,Religion and new order*, {Karachi,Oxford,1998}, p. 43.

<sup>108</sup> Rashid, *Taliban*, ,p. 23.

<sup>109</sup> Kamal, *Taliban*, p 16

courts....she was shot in head in front of 20,000 crowd<sup>110</sup>. In other instance women accused of adultery was stoned to death publicly, thieves hands were cut in public and Taliban for the first time in Afghan history banned opium cultivation

These acts were looked with disdain in civilised world but were applauded in Islamic world especially in neighbouring Pakistan apart from the fundamentalist Saudi Arabia. The world took first serious notice of Taliban when in 2001 they decided to destroy the thousand years old Bhudda carving in Bamian province<sup>111</sup>. No amount of pressure could sway them from this, neither offer of money nor threat of force. Pakistani president General Musharraf admits in autobiography, that he tried hard to convince the Taliban but he refused, even Saudi crown prince went to Kandhar to meet Omar, who met him in a mud house sitting on a floor and when prince accused him of lying he simply rushed out and later came back drenched in water, and said I have just poured cold water over my head to cool myself, had you not been my guest I would have done something to you.

Taliban might have been still in power had not the 9/11 event took place, resultantly whole world became paranoid with the Osama and Al-Qaeeda and both were reportedly in Afghanistan. Any other regime in world would have buckled under the dire straits but Taliban were not normal and they simply refused to even acknowledge their existence and later admitted that even if Osama is here we will not hand over him because under Afghan tradition he is our guest and has seek protection and we will abide with our tradition and USA must provide the evidence and later even agreed to handing over Osama to be tried by an international court provided evidence is given of his involvement in terrorism. It is worth recording that Afghanistan was attacked by over seventy American cruise missiles in August 1998 on alleged AlQaeeda bases for their role in bombing USA embassies in Kenya and Tanzania a month early<sup>112</sup>

American forces started bombing Afghanistan from 7<sup>th</sup> October 2001<sup>113</sup> and on 19<sup>th</sup> October 2001 the first ever US marine operation against Taliban was launched at Kandhar, on 21<sup>st</sup> October American started bombing Taliban front line soldiers facing against northern alliance in the north of Kabul this bombing reached its crescendo on 5<sup>th</sup> November when American used daisy cutter bombs, Kabul fell to northern alliance on 12<sup>th</sup> November and on 26<sup>th</sup> November 2001 the first batch of American Marines landed at Kabul and on 02 December 2001 the operation Anaconda was launched to capture Alqaeeda, neither Osama has been found and nor Al Qaeeda has been defeated rather there has been an increase in AlQaeeda attacks now directed against the NATO countries like Spain {Madrid} UK {London} and Pakistan who is not a NATO member but an active member of the alliance. Mullah Omar also escaped allegedly on a Honda motor cycle.

#### *Analysis of Taliban and Mujhadeen*

Mujhadeen and Taliban are two sides of one coin, they share same culture, language, heritage, religion, and history. Mujhadeen were created artificially to fight a super power which they already were fighting as isolated individual tribes, parties and groups basing upon their centuries old traditions. They were based in Pakistan, they were funded by the Western countries and Gulf states, they were trained and indoctrinated by the religious and political groups based in Pakistan. Even the families of all these mujhadeen fighters and all other people who migrated from Afghanistan were given the religious meaning of mujahedeen. Yet these mujhadeen were not hardliner as Taliban. The mujhadeen were too diversified in culture. The northern Uzbecks in 1992 had over 1800 girls<sup>114</sup> studying in Balkh University the

<sup>110</sup> Jason Burke *Al-Qaeeda* {London, Penguin, 2004} p.117.

<sup>111</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In The Line of Fire*, {London, Simon & Schuster, 2006} pp. 214-215.

<sup>112</sup> Rashid *Taliban*, p135

<sup>113</sup> Tanner, *Afghanistan*, pp 296-298

<sup>114</sup> Rashid *Taliban* p52

only operational university of Afghanistan. Mujhadeen were united as long as their interests were there however the inbuilt tribal feuds were too high and rigid to be overcome by them thus they remain loggerhead moreover the interest of Pakistan in having pashtun based power as opposed to Uzbek base was another factor of constant civil war.

Taliban were an independent idealistic movement which was not based upon tribal code but on that unifying element of religion however since the religion itself is divided into sects thus Taliban pursued their own sect of sunni islam which the 90% of Afghans followed and since they were so deep rooted into religion that they saw the other sects as non muslims and acted according to the teaching of their own sect that is the reason of their killing over 6000 hazarajats shittes in Mazar Shariff battle of July 1998 and it should also be noted that almost 3000 Taliban were also killed by the other sect in a battle in the same city a year ago. This religious difference also put Taliban against the shia based Iran whom majority of sunni muslims consider almost non Islamic in nature.

Militarily Taliban differ from mujahadeen ,because unlike them taliban failed to offer a stiff resistance to American forces. Taliban had to fight against their countrymen more than the Mujahadeen. The major reason lies in the fact that where as the Mujahadeen call was nationalistic the Taliban cause was revolving around the religion. The arab connection of Osama with Taliban is not new<sup>115</sup>, Osama fought with mujahadeen in 1988 and funded them it was sheer coincidence that when he returned from Sudan in 1995-6 the Taliban were on the surge and their ideology was in line with his ie the spread of Islam and practical application of Muhammad's teaching.

Both mujahedden and Taliban were backed by the Pakistan military in covert and overt way, Pakistan had strategic interest in the region and over 40 million pashtuns are living in Pakistan thus it always welcomes a pashtun hold of Afghanistan, taliban remained under Pakistan influence for a short time but later they carved their own policy which in any case was in line with Saudi and Pakistani thinking.

Taliban had a consistency in their ideology, they for the first time were able to eradicate the opium cultivation and also to disarm the society.

#### *Conclusion*

As Nazis cannot be separated from the Germans of WW1 or a Stalinist cannot be differentiated from a Leninist ,similarly Taliban cannot be differed from Mujahadeen, they were part of them, yet they revolted against them because of mujhadeen's inter fighting and lack of security but it all happened without any preconceived plan.. They were as militarily sharp as the Mujahadeen thus they avoided the direct confrontation with American forces and retreated to mountains,

Taliban are an ideology which is based upon religion so was the mujahadeen's but the difference lies in the fact where mujahadeen were to fight a foreign aggressor the Taliban were to reconstruct the society and get rid of all vices and this message has spread to the east, into Pakistan where there tribal brethren and religious seminaries are located and they have started a reign of suicide bombing in Pakistan, starting a similar movement in Swat area, emphasising upon the dress code and role of women ,banning all music and video shops. Thus Taliban ideology is more deep rooted than the ideology of Mujahadeen which in fact promised the same but never got the chance to implement this, furthermore Mujahadeen were too linguistic and tribally divided than these Taliban. Another characteristic of Taliban is the poor background of their entire leadership and their being disabled in one form or the other thus their appeal to the poor muslim masses is now more and finally Taliban consider and legitimise their actions in society also as jihad therefore they are mujahadeen as well.

‘All men dream but not equally, those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity, but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dreams with open eyes, to make it possible.’

Colonel T.E. Lawrence *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, p. 7

<sup>115</sup> Jason Burke, *Al-Qaeeda*, {London,Penguin,2004} p.134.

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## How Radical was the 1957 Defence White Paper

The 1957 Defence White Paper was presented to the cabinet by Duncan Sandy the defence secretary. It is the most drastic, radical and philosophical defence policy ,the first one which clearly states the overriding importance of policy over war, importance of technology on military strategic culture, analysis of threat and means of countering it.In brief the paper assess the previous defence policies especially the rearmament done after 1950 Korean war and how that threat and defence has changed due to hydrogen and atomic bomb, it further

highlight that communist threat can penetrate due to poor economic situation in Britain therefore a strong internal economy is vital. The advancement in science thus necessitates to cut the defence expenditures and realigned the services for future obligation of the Britain towards NATO, and her own interests

This defence paper admits that there is no viable defence against Russian nuclear weapons thus overriding consideration be on avoiding war rather than waging war

**The salient features of this defence paper were**

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1. Reduction of UK defence forces in Germany from 77000 to 64000, reduction of aircraft in Germany and in UK especially of light bombers
2. The future role of RN is not clear in total war
3. Defence of Middle east is vital and would be done by maintaining forces in Aden and in East Africa, withdrawal of forces from Korea, maintenance of force in Singapore and reduction of overseas garrisons which are not necessary
4. Creation of a central mobile reserve force in UK, and associated mobility required like aircraft to be fulfilled
5. Creation of an over all voluntary military force of 3,75,000 thus reducing it from 7,00,000 and end of conscription. Army strength to be around 1,65,000 which means disbandment of over 51 teeth arms battalions, RN to be reduced to 88000, and RAF to 1,35,000
6. Withdrawal of two Territorial Divisions from NATO
7. Defence expenditures would thus be reduced from 1700 million pounds to 1430 million pounds
8. Commonwealth to play active part in sharing the defence
9. Release man power will be absorbed in national productivity

Thus it was a political paper and policy which understood that money must be spend in a way that it should pay back, it was a defence policy that reflects the need and emergence of nuclear era warfare, in which large scale divisions and armies are wastage and burden on national economy, where by the nature and characteristic of a nuclear war does not favour long duration of war and neither it favours large scale manpower. The reliance on missiles rather than on guns resulted in reduction and scrapment of many projects

### **Morning Walk In Glasgow**

Since our childhood we all are familiar with morning walk, some have taken this walk holding their grandparents hand and others have done so holding or running with their parents. Above all we all have been reading and writing about this event as it is one of the favourite essay of our education system

I am a student here at University of Glasgow, age 43, and a retired army major, undergoing Master of Letter in War Studies ,since October 2008. I am living in university accommodation, the Queen Margret Residence on Bellshaugh Court which is located in west end of the city, a peaceful and quiet area. There are over twelve blocks accommodating over nine hundred students of multi-sexes and multi nations of varying age, presumably I am the second oldest here the oldest is a decade older than me from Africa.

I have a small room of my own and I love to go for a morning walk or jog, the weather is cold ,chilly, damp and most of the time it is raining and it adds charm to this ritual.

I get up at around seven and it is dark at that time and when I get down it is half past seven and still dark, I hear birds chirping and an occasional student going or coming from a job. Out of my block I take a right turn on the Bellshaugh Road ,it is a residential area and there are houses on both side of the road, the cars are park on the road and are frosty, another hundred of meters and there is a school ,The Resource Academia, a private school. It is still dark and parents drop their children ,the young ones are always sitting in the rear and their school bags are always in the boot, the mothers and fathers help them cross the road and generally wait till they have gone inside. As I walk forward I come across one odd person going for walk with his or her dog or dogs. Most of the people do say good morning to me and same goes for me as well.

I cross a road which at times takes few moments as it does not have any traffic signals and after another hundred yards I enter the Botanic Gardens. Its an uphill climb and its lovely and peaceful, when I came here it was autumn but now all trees are bereft of any leave, there are number of squirrels which roam around without any fear, there are benches in the park all dedicated or donated by the next of kins of deceased ones. I forgot to mention that the very first people which I see every morning are the Glasgow City Council garbage collector, which are busy collecting the green garbage bins in their trucks, I hardly remember that I have heard any horn in the morning. Coming back to the botanic garden, I walk through it and come across few old people mostly with their dogs. I in particular remember one person who met

me in the park one day and without any previous introduction embraced me and wept and said he has lost his mother a few days back and need someone to cry with.

I walk through the garden and then at the end I descend down to the River Clyde and walk along its bank for another kilometre before I ascend back to the garden. It is absolutely a peaceful and clean walk, I hear water running and by this time there is little hustle bustle ,few cyclists and few morning joggers are there. The school children who apparently comes from different part of the city and at their own are the bulk of morning crowd. When I reach back to school ,I can feel an urgency in the air as parents are getting late for their job and some children have some last minute conference with their dear ones,I always look at them as they remind me of my children and the time when I used to drop them at the school and it is at this point one realise that we all are same in this aspect.

The university students are now going to university almost all have headphones on their ears,the ladies are also on a rush to catch up the bus,and then I enter my block and after making a cup of tea I sit outside and enjoy it.

### **King Edward The 8<sup>th</sup>**

Every nation is like a family and every family has some secrets which the rest of village and relatives knows and which is passed down the generation with alterations ,when you ask about it the old grannies give brushing aside comments.In Pakistan we have the similar secret about our father of nation Muhammad ali jinnah's love affair with ruttie Jinnah ,who was his best friend's only daughter the richest girl in India,he was forty and she was sixteen and while he was staying at her place ,after three months one fine morning the house servants must have comme hurrying down the corridors of that palatial mountain house and declared that Jinnah has gone and some one must have said and ruttie baby is also not her bed room and then some one must have said that gold jewellery is also missing..Now this happened in this century and all record is in papers yet in Pakistan even army brigadiers are at times not even aware of this,similarly there is a secret of British ,the King Edward the VIII.

I did come across his name in certain books with the general impression that there was a king of England in thirties who felt in love with an American lady who was divorced and he wanted to marry her but parliament and religion did not allow him and he was forced to abdicate.He lived rest of his life in France where he died.The moral of the story which was hampered down was the supremacy of parliament,the beauty of English traditions.Yet often I would think of this man,who was he ,why he left an empire on whom the sun never set ,the more I ponder the more I started respecting him,later while compiling a list of men of century and millienium I came to this bitter fact that no man has ever sacrificed so much for a woman,yes it's a fact no man has ever done this much,we talk about Helen of troy ,the taj mahal,yet these were act of violence where state machinery and wealth was utilised,but to abdicate an empire not only for your self but for your generation is an extreme act of madness and love is nothing but madness.

I was sitting in Eildeen's house on winton drive it was before Christmas,there was one more friend of her who was daughter of some one who had died and was quite literary,I donot know how the name of Edward the 8<sup>th</sup> came but I said what I have written before,but I was surprised to hear a very different version,where she had no answer to my points she insisted that as a king he should have been more mature and religion did not allow that.I countered that 'we are not talking about some thing which happened in last millienium but some thing that took place just seventy years ago ,are you telling me that this british empire

and civilisation the so called light of the world did not approve the marriage of your king to a divorced woman, than how can you point finger at any other culture because no civilisation can be as brutal towards women especially the divorced as you were half a century ago'. We had the coffee and cigarettes, Eileen's home was the only house where I could smoke inside while sitting on a sofa. I left but I was dazed that why Edward is not popular, I initiated the same subject to another lady who was well in her nineties at Botanic Garden and certainly she must be not more than ten at that time yet she had no clear idea of this. I had heated debate with Catherine in Oranmore, with Lawrence, and finally with the security guard in the uni library last night at midnight. I rushed to eighth floor and then to 7<sup>th</sup> where parliamentary proceedings are stored and after half an hour was able to get the requisite volume, December the 10<sup>th</sup> 1936 was the day when King abdicated and prime minister Stanley Baldwin made the speech. This was the first ever announcement about the King, now in a more analytical way, and this uni education is all about this. The members of parliament are not school kids they had access to the newspapers and all the rumours which were going in American press which the Stanley quoted as his reason of approaching the king yet there never was any question about the so called the affair. On the same day Mr Errington in a written question asked the minister of labour about the number of residents in Bootle who come in the category of seasonal workers, and Mr White on 26<sup>th</sup> November 1936 inquired about the relationship between alcohol and road accidents yet no member dared to raise a query about their King and we are not talking about medieval era but 1936.

The proceedings went like this, prime minister Baldwin informed the house of commons while it was in session that he has a message from the king, now for every member the connotation must be different that as to what is king's message and they must be attentive, is it something to do with Germany or to India or any link to military pensions or increase of holidays for pregnant women while working in railway industry, because they all were ignorant.

Members of the house of commons

*After long and anxious considerations I have determined to renounce the throne to which I succeeded on the death of my father and I am now communicating this, my final and irrevocable decision*

*I, Edward VIII of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British dominions beyond the seas, King Emperor of India do hereby declare my irrevocable determination to renounce the throne for myself and for my descendants, and my desire that effect should be given to this instrument of abdication immediately.... my lawful successor, my brother His Royal Highness the Duke of York should ascend the throne*

Evidently this is the most important words that a King has ever spoken because by this the power of love over greed was sealed for ever, it demonstrated that love has no boundaries and since the woman was not some duchess or prince but an ordinary looking divorced American lady it cemented the image of kingship in the mind, in today's world that was an excellent public relations campaign which could have been symbol of Christianity. All the unrest movements in the empire would have died for ever, every one would have loved to live under such a king who has the heart to marry an ordinary woman, the Christian faith would have converted almost all the Hindus where second marriage of a widower is not taken in good spirits, yet it did not happen like this,

At 1547 hours the Baldwin rose and uttered 'no more grave message has ever been received by parliament and no more difficult I may almost say repugnant task has ever been imposed

upon a prime minister{ In his opinion the declaration of first world war was not the difficult task,oratory}

Prime minister informed the house about the back drop of this message and since there never has been a question raised in the parliament about the king's affair thus it is to be assumed that none knew about it.Stanley said that he was ill and was on holidays in October and when he came back to office there was a pile of correspondence from british citizens in America and from all over the dominion and from this country all expressing perturbation and uneasiness at what was then appearing in American press{ yet no news in british media the so called father of media}.Now there was a divorce case going on in america and the lady under the case was alleged to have the friendship with the King of England{whats wrong with that}.Now Stanley is concerned only 'if that gossip and criticism spreads from the other side of the Atlantic to this country' so he decided to go and tell the King about his concerns and he admits 'I consulted I am ashamed to say and they have forgiven me-none of my colleagues'.

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This is not the prime minister of some underdeveloped talking in 16<sup>th</sup> century but british prime minister in 1936.It raises further questions about the very system which later took the whole nation to the war.any way coming back to Stanley.

Stanley met the king and told him what is being written in the paper 'badshah salamat kin chakroon mein hain aap'.the king just listened and after few days the matter finally rested on this that either he should leave the woman or leave the crown.

This matter was not discussed in the parliament it all took place between the prime minister and the king and certainly his family which included his mother.Stanley took the line that other dominions are against the King's marriage to the widower and that included Australia,Canada,south Africa and newzealand,all this has been revealed by the cabinet papers.But this is too simple a line to be accepted,how the public in these dominions would have reacted is up to guess but since the majority of the people were poor or middleclass and women certainly made up to fifty percent of the population thus it would had a positive aspect and not the negative one as perceived by the respective prime ministers.There is nothing in the christinity that forbids the man or any king to marry any widower.I had a talk with Eildeen on this and for the first time she had nothing to say in the defence of the decision other than that in Christianity marriage is a sacred affair and it could not be allowed at that time,I counter her by stating that we are not talking about a king in medieval era but the one just seventy years ago and how come religion can forbid it,if this line or arguement is accepted then what is the difference between sati in Indian religion and christianity..

Coming back to the proceedings of the parliament on 10<sup>th</sup> december 1936,prime minister in his speech further highlighted his feelings and advice he gave to the King " I reminded him of what I had often told him and his brothers in years past,the british monarchy is a unique institution the crown in this country through the centuries has been deprived of many of its preogatives but today while that is true it stands for far more than it ever has done in its history...this feelings largely depends on the respect that has grown up in the last three generations for the monarchy it might not take so long in face of the kind of criticism to which it was being exposed to lose that power far more rapidly than it was built up and once lost I doubt if anything could restore it" Now the prime minister is given his own opinion but that is not democracy but national socialism,he did not consult the parliament nor he went to the public to gain their opinion,thus King was given only two options and he had to decide quickly ,Stanley spoke in the parliament " again we must remember that the cabinet had not been in this at all I had reported to about four of my senior colleagues...I told the king that particular marriage was one that would receive the approbation of the country,the marriage would have involved the lady becoming the

queen...my worst enemy would not say of me that I did not know what the reaction of the british people would be to any particular course of the action”.

On 25<sup>th</sup> November 1936 the King saw the Baldwin and meanwhile a suggestion was floated that parliament should discuss the marriage of the king with a provision that lady would not be proclaimed as queen,when king ask the prime minister about the proposition he replied as he stated in the parliament “parliament would never pass such a bill and if he wants I can examine it formally” on which the king said yes.It was at this point that Stanley formally got in touch with the other dominions and on 2<sup>nd</sup> December a mere week later he went to the king and informed him that there is no chance of his marriage being approved here or in any of the dominion,his majesty asked him to answer the question of his marriage with the lady and Stanley replied in negative ‘his majesty’s said he was not surprise...I pointed that that the possible alternatives had been narrowed and that it really had brought into the position that he would be placed in a grievous situation between two conflicting loyalties in his own heart-either complete abandonment of the project on which his heart was set and remaining as king or doing as he intimated to me that he was prepared to do”.

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Alas what a man King Edward the 8<sup>th</sup> was,not many would have given a second thought about leaving the kingdom ,now a days one see swarms of immigrants who have left their loved ones for the greener pastures of the new country and yet here right in our own time was a man who left the kingdom on which sun never sets just for the sake of a woman he love,not another example is there in our history which is full of violence and war.even great Abraham the father of abrahamic religion when he sets foot in the egypt with his beautiful wife told her to declare him as his her brother thus to avoid the wrath of the pharaohs and Moses left his wife for the safety of his own life and here is a man who stood for what a man is all about,to write in golden immortal words of deeds,he did not wage a war for the sake of her love in which thousands innocent should have died but simply within a week stated ,here is your crown and I am leaving with my loved ones.

King was not immature as he has been portrayed rather he avoided confrontation with the parliament and did not divided the nation into two groups,there is no doubt that if there were equal numbers of people who would had disapproved his marriage than even numbers of people would had approved his act,if any one has any query just have a look at the Megrahi’s affair.

## Pub

Pub is an English tradition a place where people go for drink,at least this is what I perceived,there are no pubs in my country.I remember that there used to be a debate among learned officers about what is the difference between pub and bar and it was decided and verdict given that pub serves food and bar doesnot.I had been to few pubs and bars in my life before coming to Glasgow,I remember the one bar in New York city which had a nude dance and than I had few drinks in Café Hard rock in London in early ninties but I really don’t consider them as traditional pubs.My interaction with pub started in Glasgow in October 2008 and now after six months of being a regular patron of ‘Oran Mor’ I feel I can write something about pubs and this culture.I admit that I havenot visited any other pub in this period ,well to be honest I had but it was with my university fellows for one odd night and that itself explains the pub culture,you go to one pub and than you stick to it such is the magic of pub.

It was 31<sup>st</sup> October 2008 the Haloween night when I almost out of nostalgia decided to go out from my room in queen Margaret residence a university accommodation on Bellshaugh court in west end of city.The reason was that almost two decades ago I had a

magical affair on this night in New York and always cherished that thus it was to commemorate that feeling which compeled me to walk out.I knew no place where to go,I had seen this church type building almost daily while going to and fro to university and I did inquired from the security personnal posted out ‘what is this? And he with a smile said why don’t you have a look inside.and I peep inside and found it to be a place of intoxication in liquids.The place is a medieval church and had a overimposing interior ,I with my little student budget did not venture in and walk away but with a vow that I one day I will go inside.Thus on that Haloween night I gathered the courage and walk.I had no costume other than my military great coat,shoes and jersey all first or second great war vintage thus ideal to ward off the icy weather of Scotland,I put fifty quid in my pocket and thought at least I would be able to have a drink.

Very few people can understand how much mental courage it requires to enter an alien place like a pub,on the one kilometre walk I gave assurance to myself that nothing is going to happen,after all you have walked alone in Burmaese jungles at night on the footsteps of Major John Masters yet my legs trembled for a last time before I enter the door after climbing the gothic steps .Nothing on this gods earth would have prepared me for the scene that I witness in those first few moments,there were witches,Draculas,sheihks,fathers,nuns,pirates,priests,brides,barbarians,and host of other costumes,there was a noise and laughter.I solemnly walked among this crowd towards the counter not even knowing what to order other than beer.After first few moments I felt relaxed and easy,I could feel the stares of people but they were not menacing rather curious and friendly,the cost of one pint of beer was far far less than my expectations.as I turned around I found a pirate who smilingly put his hand forward and said welcome,I shook his hand and said cheers.Amidst this crowd we could hardly talk but he invited me to his table where already there were five or six peoples were sitting it was next to fireplace,and from that day onward I always sat there.That was a magical night,laughter and jokes,the people after learning that I am a student and my past background did not allowed me to buy another drink and offered one after the other.I do remember that since smoking is not allowed inside so I went out to smoke my pipe and met a host of other characters,the two I recall were university students and one of them was too good in card tricks almost unbelievable ,I left at morning ,I think I was the last one to leave the premises,I sat for an hour with Lady Godiva and her lover or lovers.

I went again after two days and found it to absoloutely normal,I quietly had a pint and left.My next venture into the pub was with mariox,it was probably 3<sup>rd</sup> December and after having coffe with her at ashton Lane I invited her for a drink.I had met her only two days ago and was not sure where to go thus I entered Oran mor,she had been here before.

From that day onward I went through a roller coaster of emotions in this pub,I had some of my life best nights in this place.I have laugh,sang,dance,discussed Clausewitz,world wars,cricket,Oscar wilde and so forth needless to say I have shed few internal tears on the way.I have seen snow falling outside through its hundred years old windows with fire place on,I have seen couples laughing and crying,people hugging and at times leaving tables without looking back towards their mates.

The more time I spend there the more I felt in love with this place.

What is a pub? Its not just an eating place neither it’s a place to get intoxicated with liquor,it’s a part of life,you can have coffee,orange juice or food,anything you like.You can sit alone you can read you can sort out your emotional and financial quagmire as well.It is what Mess is to army life.

I became a regular with Mariox, we will sit in the corner and she will tell me about her experience of working in pubs when she was young, she would invariably get into talk with anyone and so would others to me or us. I started noticing there are few regular people who would always be there and I did develop an acquaintance with them. On 13<sup>th</sup> December I walked into the pub after handing over my end term essay to the Christelle in University and enroute I talked to my mother back home and it's always a good feeling after hearing her voice, I would have loved to talk to my kins as well but they were and still are in war with me for coming here, anyway as I walked in it was 1700 hours and I first sat on a stool then on a table but since it had an uneven balance which dripped the beer thus I sat on a table next to entrance and waited for Mariox, when she came I rose and went to counter to get drinks and then I remembered that I had a diary for her in my bag and as I look back my bag was not there, I searched it under the table in fact everywhere but it was not there, I asked the bar tender Graham and he had no idea, I ran out but to no avail. I knew it that it has been stolen but my mind simply could not accept this fact that in this world any one can steal my bag. I had an inner laugh I normally do it when ever this kind of thing happens, that bag had a history, it was a hand made leather satchel, crafted by Shams Saddler in Rawalpindi in Pakistan who is in this field for last hundred years. I as a lieutenant would pass in front of his old shop with wooden door {It has not changed} and admire his craftman ship but never had enough spare money to indulge in this luxury of buying the bags. Years passed by and I would visit him when ever I was in town and at times purchased belts or watch straps but never the bag yet I would always spend hours in touching these bags, to cut a long story short, hours before I left my country I told my regimental officer Major Jawad to buy that bag and he did and now it was gone forever, on top of that on that very day Mariox also told me that she does not want to see me anymore. Thus I was at loss what to mourn more. I was also not sure about the behaviour of the pub about this loss of bag, are they going to accept that my bag was stolen from this place, in majority of the cases which I have heard and seen in world a place like this does not admit, even in my own country the first reaction would have been like this 'sorry mate, are you sure you walk in with the bag... probably you had few drinks more than normal and now you cannot even remember that you walk in with bag or not... we never had anything like this here before... someone must have joke with you... or I think you are trying to pull a fast one on us'. It was with these feelings that I told Graham that my bag has been stolen and that's all. Soon the manager came and said sorry for this and explained that some gang does these things and I could feel a genuine sympathy, like a bush fire it was on everyone's lips, Amir bag has been stolen. Next day I went to Oran Mor and inquired about the bag but no success, I did ask them that if I report to police I hope they won't have any objection, again it was in my mind that almost all establishment does not like getting involved with police. My interior motive was to understand how this society and police works and with that theme I was working. Pub had no objection and neither there was any change in their behaviour towards me, they did not consider me a load now and I was feeling guilty that due to my casual behaviour I had put them into trouble.

The interaction with police was another strange aspect. I saw two police men walking and they were unarmed and I catch them up near my university after a day or so, the reason for this delay was that I never thought that police would be interested in a bag that has been stolen from a pub and probably they would say the same thing 'First tell us how many pints you had before you realised that you have lost your bag?' and then I thought they will say 'ok come with us to the pub and then in the pub they will have free drinks as well' these and all weird ideas were coming to my mind basing upon the experience which I had in my country, I was unable to suppress the inner smile on thinking how the police back home would have

reacted. The two jhonnies took detail very seriously on a black book and said 'don't worry we will look into this and we will inform you'. While walking away I said to myself, it's not a bad deal for the loss of a bag at least you have experienced how this police system works.

Now all the people I knew in the pub and I knew very few, were concerned about the bag. I would be stopped on Byres Road by someone and he would console with me and same was the case in the pub, I felt even embarrassed. Yes the police did go to the pub, I was told by the manager and in a polite way. Anyhow I did find the bag, the thieves left it in a bag on Byres Road and the bank did inform the number which was there in the bag, all I lost were two pairs of gloves.

Coming back to the pub, it was New Year Eve and there were tickets for entry as well. I forgot to mention that I spent my Christmas Eve in the pub and it was fun. On New Year Eve I planned to get two tickets, one for Mariox and one for myself, like always I got late and while I was talking to Graham for tickets and he politely said 'it's all sold out' I was disheartened and turned away to walk, one distinguished looking man whom I could not place in terms of what his position in the bar is, simply said 'Graham give him two tickets' and then smilingly signed it and said to me 'I am sorry about your bag' I told him that I have found the bag, but he insisted.

I was stunned, why he had given me two tickets, what I have been always perceiving is that there is no such thing as free lunch in the West, yet this man has been kind. Well I enjoyed the night and later learnt that the man was Collin the owner of the pub and that fact was revealed only last week because I often saw him in jeans working outside with other workers as well. Thus the pub can be an institution in learning the social values of this culture.

The pub has rules albeit unwritten ones, as long as you are not creating discomfort to the others you are welcome, now I can talk or write about this pub and this may not be true for others.

### **Ramadan in Glasgow**

Ramadan is the most holy of all Muslim months and it is a tough month as it involves a month of fasting, this was my first Ramadan outside Pakistan, to be honest I have never kept a month of fasting yet living in Pakistan you become part of this month's holiness, you cannot smoke or eat in public, neither any mess other than the aviation mess is open thus I would normally have the maximum flying in this month to justify for not keeping fast not that it matters or any one questions.

In Glasgow as a student one is more concerned about free food than any holiness thus I was looking forward to Ramadan as I imagined that at least there would be *sehri* and *iftaari* in the two mosques one of Muslims and other of Qadianis, I had visited the former as it was near my Kelvingrove residence. When Ramadan started I was more busy in my dissertation thus I had no time to visit that mosque as it was a bit far from the library and secondly they were not offering any *sehri*, thus my colleague Fida who initially did not keep fasts but later kept all the fasts informed me that the mosque on Oakfield Street which was a stone's throw from the library is offering the *iftaari*, thus on the first day I went there it was a bit difficult to locate the mosque amidst the rows of the houses and I knocked the wrong house and an English lady duly informed me with a smile that the mosque is next door. The central mosque is in the city centre and is quite big but it was a bit far, here it was a house which has been redecorated to cater for the mosque and the prayer house was in the basement. In Glasgow there is no state's subsidy for any religion. I had to remove my shoes and there was a rack placed there yet majority of the people did not take the chance of losing the shoes and took them downstairs, I think it is now more or less a culture associated with the mosque that one is bound to lose a pair of shoes here. Downstairs there was *iftaari* in one portion and prayers arrangements in the other, there

was nothing special in iftaari ,dates and cold drink.there was an assorted gathering of muslims,blacks,arabs,Bengalis,Pakistanis and there was one odd white as well.The prayers were same as in Pakistan but more soulfull and short.

Next day I was not interested in going thwere but Fida told me that there are arrangements for dinner as well,I reached there as prayers were finishing and headed for the food which was in the outer room ,for next one month the menu remained the same ,rice with chicken curry sometimes it was mutton curry but always well cooked,served in plastic disposable plates and glasses,one has to stand in the queu and there were two people who would put the food in your plates ,there were seats and tables to consume the food.It was watching and feeling islam from very close quarters,there were majority of students ,the Nigerian whom I initially thought as Christians in queen margraet residence were there and all of a sudden there was a bondage among all the men,there was no women ,I think the arrangements for the women were upstairs but in any case no female student came for the iftaari.the cook was a Bengali,for a month I went there on most of the days and very rarely offered prayers yet they did not objected to my being there and neither any one tried to give me any sermon on fasting,the eating session would last for almost half an hour and later I would help in cleaning the room and disposing the dishes,because cleanliness is half of religion in islam.In later days pakoras were added and on some days there was sweets as well.i have no idea who footed the bill for this one month because no one asked for any donations but my own guess is that well to do muslims probably arabs footed the bill.

Fida later started going to the other mosque for change of menu but I remained loyal to this one,the pop[ulation increased in later days .Although hardly any one in the city knew about the Ramadan yet I felt guilty while eating in streets or smoking in open.Mine and Fida routine was to go straight to Catholic Chaplaincy for free coffe after the iftarri.I met one female student from Peshawar who was staying with a Pakistani family and she was observing proper fasts and the day I met her she was hurrying to the flat as she had to go and cook the iftaari,Faiza the girl who was with me on the aircraft from Lahore and also in QMR was another person who observed fasts and in fact she invited many other students for an iftarri where every one has to pay for own.zeeshan another Pakistani student also kept the fasts.The muslims are mainly in running shops that involved selling of liquor ,I noticed that in majority of the shops they put a veil over the bottles in this month.In the city the shop from where I normally bought pipe tobacco the young man asked me 'are you not keeping the fast? On my negative answer he further inquired not once, I kept quiet.sheebby the one who runs café India at shawlands also fasted in the month.

Here every one knew on which date is the Eid there was no fuss of sighting of moon,eid felt on Sunday,I was working on that day at Camphill,it was my supervisor Keanny who asked me few days before about the Eid and I inquired how do you know about eid? And he replied in his typical scottish accent ' I have grey hair aamir'.

It was the first eid in my life wherte there were no vermiccellis,no eidi to be given or asked,no new clothes for self ,no tailor ,no channd raat,no eid cards either posted or received other than one digital card from karam dad my old squadron non commissioned officer from Pakistan.while walking in Camphill for the first time I felt sad for a moment, I was alone patrolling and looked at the sky and wonder at the tides of time.My mobile was also not working yet I was able to rang my mother and father ,family they simply refused to pick the phone and I took it as a part of the game.for one month I was window shopping thinking about which dress will suit my daughter and which shirt will look good on my son,about wife I did not thought much as I knew no matter what I choose it will be having flaws.My course mate colonel Khalid shahbaz was the only one to rang me from Pakistan on british eid day,I

also came to know that in Frontier the eid is on same day as in England and I acknowledge their wisdom and scientific approach. Reena my old class fellow from my child hood and whom I found on facebook few days before the start of Ramadan was going on grand canyon trip with her friend on eid day ,thus it was more sad in a way.

On eid day Saleem the owner of Madina butchery was kind enough to invite me for a dinner on eid day but I regretted as I had to go for work,I however wore kameez shalwar on that day,the Indian student Ajmal from Hyderabad Deccan met me on street and we embraced each other he was buying sweets for the family with whom he was living as they had been preparing shehri for him the whole month.Usman the owner of Post Office on Great western road ,whom I met a day after eid took me on an eid lunch at Chillies at West end.

Muslim women generally wore their best dress on that day with plenty of make up,even Keeany noticed the ear ring in one's while her car was parked next to ours at a stop.at camphill there are few houses of muslims and I noticed the kids wearing new shoes and every one clad in good clothes,that was the eid here in Glasgow.

### **Gymnasium of University**

On Oakfield street is the university 's sports and recreation centre, I went there after few days.Now there is always a hesitation in going to any new gymnasium at least I have always felt this way.I am a keen a sports man and have kept in generally good health in army.The building apparently looks small ,I used to to stare at it while sitting on the footsteps of mature students association ,and from that angle I had full view of the swimming pool and that was tempting,last time I had a swim was in Karachi in 1996 while bein part of the helicopter crew looking after the sheikh of dubai in Sheraton hotel.Coming to this ,as you enter the building there is a counter behind which are one or two staff,one girl and boy ,the boy I remember because had west Indian type hair like Michel holding.The forms were given and within five minutes I was a member for a fee of 30£,it was tooo quick for me, I am used to the pattern where on day one it takes hour to get a form ,then it has to be taken back fill it and then get it signed from concerned military officer .before coming to Glasgow I was in Lahore and they had a garrison sports complex so I went there got the forms and after few days I took it to my wife's office to get it signed from the colonel,as I was on leave pending retirement thus I had no regiment to sign it,I gave the forms to administration officer who was my wifes's colleague Colonel Nigar,she was very helpful and called the head clerk who after much delay came and took the form ,next day when I went there the clerk was on leave and when I went after two more days the forms were not traceable,finally I went back to the complex and got new forms and repeated the process thus from that point it was too quick.

You can enter the building by swapping your magnetic card which initially I had no idea how to use,here on first floor they had a weight lifting section which here is termed as power kind of thing ,adjacent to it is the running machines on second floor is the activity hall which has a wooden floor and you can play basket ball or badminton ,when badmintonis played then simultaneously five nets are placed on top floor are two wooden squash corts and host of machines,and in base ment is all weather swimming pool.Changing rooms are on every floor,there is a lift as well..All this is managed by not more than four people excluding two life gurads.The centre opens at 0700 and remains open till 2200 hours seven days of week with minorc changes on week ends.The other centre is at Garscube which has playing fields and host of other activities.University practically has club of every conceivable sports,canoeing ,rafting, mountaineering,basket ball,rugby,cricket and so on.

There is a system of working here ,if you want to play squash then you have to book the court for such and such timmmings,balls are provided free but for racket you have to pay

60 P, in case if you bring your own balls {which every one does} and racket then its free. All my life I have never booked a court because I can never planned a thing ahead, so I never booked it but I learnt it hard way that here one has to plan everything even sports.

Males and females enjoy and workout together in the complex. I was more interested in badminton which used to have three days of sessions in a week for three hours. The rackets and shuttles were provided by the university, they also have a coach on the spot. The members I have used the word members instead of students because the university staff also comes here. There were players of all age, colour and playing skills, you just wait and either coach will indicate you to join a certain net or you yourself walk in, the coach himself is young. The coaching here is easy all you need is to attend few weeks coaching course at any of the college, even life guards are ccoached and trained in college, for any student I strongly recommend that he or she should do this course, I did not do that because of my laziness and lack of forward planning.

On the court there is a courtesy which prevails, I have been playing a lot of badminton in my regiment, the courtesy there is bit different because junior is supposed to pick the shuttle even if it falls on your side of the net {close to it} but here its generally quiet no applauses 'Shot' 'What a shot' yet I couldnot resist this joy of shouting and would say the similar things. There was no hard and fast rule as to who will play with whom, I have played with and against the other males and females, I once made a mistake of telling my female partner how to hold the racket, she never again played with me for a long time. The students who have never played badminton were also there, majority of them were girls and they by the end were reasonable players. Chinese were good so were Indians, there was one odd Finnish as well, scots were there also. the players were of two types one who loves strokes and other who relies upon placing. In the initial days there was temptation on the field to score with the girls, I would observe all these activities. The girls I noticed take care of their dress, in a way that they were never caught off guard which is very much possible when you are playing this kind of game especially when you have to bend down to pick the shuttle.

My routine for quite long remained that I would not sleep all night, I developed this habit while writing the history of aviation in Pakistan, it was enjoyable to be able to study all night and then in the morning go out for running in botanic garden and come back, at some stage I started going to sports complex and many a times I was the first one there, there was always the old lady who would be there at the desk and I would share few exchanges with her, and would also ponder on her strength to be here so early in the winter time. By virtue of running I did not required any warm up yet almost every one would run on the mill with ear phones, although within the complex there are music television with a notice as well 'please do not change the voloume and settings'. invariably there are no instructions in the university which does not have the prefix of please or suffix of thank you. In my previous life every instruction invariably ranging from the one placed on the Mess television to public library starts with 'Khabardar'.

There were no supervisor on the floor yet there was no problem of any thing no fights over the equipment or of any thing, there were plenty of tissues and every one was supposed to clean the exercise seat after its use to curb any germs flow. Now how can you resist the sight of a female in tights bending and stretching few feet away from you with sweat all over her body, her breath heavy and her chest heaving, with wet drops of sweat falling from her forehead, well the answer is easy, its difficult ;but you are not focus on this scene.

My first visit to weight lifting section was after some time, why? I cannot explain, somehow the other I had an impressin that it would be different from the serened of the other parts, it was a big setup as comp[are to the other, students come and do their own work without

making fuss of anything, none boasting or giving Mushwaras to the other and none showing his doolas in front of the mirror. The majority were young lads working frantically with weights trying to make their muscles. There was a notice 'Big Guys do weights and bigger guys put them back'. The ladies also use the same facility and frankly by this time I was not even aware of their presence in the same room. There were machines of every type and I was not sure of their proper use thus I would just see the other guys doing and try to follow that. I developed my own routine and generally stuck within range of 15 kilograms. Swimming pool was a different ball and game story. First was the locker room ordeal. I have read and heard about the 'soap' in locker room, but never knew about that, the day I went down to the basement and entered the locker room and sat down and was wandering about how to change the swimming costume when I saw the man standing next to me simply getting naked and moving about, now I by any standard considers my self as very open minded yet it was something which I was taken aback, as I saw towards the shower room there were three or four guys standing naked and taking shower, now all this I took without giving any indication of anxiety. This was the routine then I would generally had the costume under me and would still had it on if it is wet, but it was inconvenient, after few days I would change there but very quickly and that too in a corner, I remember the day when in that process my costume's knot got entangled and I sat there trying to unknot it. Males of all age would go through it yet there were some who would wrap a towel around their waist and change the costume. Males mostly aged would be engross in conversation while standing naked and some times they would be dangerously close to me. Till end I never had a shower naked but I made a reservation that I will do that before I leave the university, just a matter of statistic I think everyone was clean shaved except me.

Swimming pool was fun, there would be girls and men together and here again I noticed variation in female behaviour, some would be wearing colourful bikini but majority would prefer rather something more conventional, they all would adjust their upper portion before coming out of the pool and majority would wrap a towel around while walking back, certainly their changing room is different and I only once had a glimpse of it because in the initial days I really could not make the male and female figures posted outside the respective doors. There is one sauna and one steam bath, the former I came to know about through Martin. It is relaxing to lie down in both, initially I was shy in both. The reason why I am highlighting this is because from a western perspective it may be rather usual because I have seen the children coming with their fathers in the locker room and standing there while these men were changing which I think is not good for a child but this is how it is, on the other hand in eastern culture it is something of a mystery as to how can man and woman both take swim together and then relax in sauna and steam bath without any mishap taking place, from that perspective it must be height of immorality the root cause of all the evils.

### **Telephone and Mobiles**

I had an opinion and anticipation that in England the mobiles and telephones would of highest quality and service, the very first thing which I did was to get a Sim for the mobile but how to get the Sim, I was guided by Sunny Singh whom I had met on second or third day and he briefed me that the best company is talk Mobile which provides very cheap call rates for Pakistan, at that time I thought that I would be calling my son every day, there were long posters pasted on the shop which highlighted the rates and charges. On Byres road there are two or three shops rather there are only two which seems to be proper one to deal with mobiles and sims. In Pakistan even the vegetable shop keeper have sims which he doles out without any formality.

The shop on Byres road was well maintained and the salesman talked very politely as long as the mobile was not sold, he loaded me the card first time but since I have very rarely done it myself it has always been my son who would do this for me or the office runner thus when I went next time to him he was bit irritant and when I went to him third time he kept me waited for half an hour, thus I decided to do it myself and found that its not that difficult to load a card.

The card can be loaded either by buying a voucher from a shop or through the cash dispensing machine, since I don't trust the cash machines so I would always buy the voucher from the shops. As compare to Pakistan where the mobile is uploaded with cards of the company which are available from all cigarette shops, here loading of card is bit technical as not all shops deal with the Talk mobile and this I realised after a month. Second exercise which I did was to change my mobile, my mobile was a new one but it did not had the songs to play and now I also wanted to listen to the songs while going to the university like all other students who in any case were using the iPod and other gadgets. Again I walked into a Pakistani owned shop on Byres Road as he was the only one dealing in second hand mobiles. When I showed him my mobile he simply rejected it by pointing out the flaws in it, on my insistence to buy a mobile with music facilities he showed me many, finally I bought Nokia music factory, he charged me £25 apart from taking my old mobile, he did offered me cup of tea and discussed politics of Pakistan, on hearing that I am from army he pointed out many of his colleagues and friends are in army. I enjoyed that mobile, however I noticed that it was most of the time out of network coverage etc, thus I decided to change the network and shift to something more international, again I floated the idea to Sunny Singh, he very promptly advised me to change over to Lebara network who not only give free sim but also give £5 free load. Sunny Singh is an expert in freebies, he dialled the number of Lebara company which was replied by someone from India and sunny singh had a good chat with him and bargained that instead of £5 he will need £10 or 8 at the minimum. The requirement was to have a PAC code from the talk mobile. In the mean while I went to London for research, there I understood the handicap of having a network which is not international, it took me over an hour to find a shop which deals with talkmobile, finally I found that Tesco deals with them. On coming back I decided to finally change the network, here time is money and all the work is done through telephone thus if you miss one call you loose not only money but you can loose your job as well.

I went to the O2 office on the great western road, unlike my home country one has to really wait here till the salesman is through with the first person, no matter how trivial your inquiry is you cannot butt in thus even a minor query can take long and this exactly what happened, I left in frustration came back next day and was attended by the salesman, I bought the sim which was free but you have to buy a loading card of £10 thus it comes down to square zero, once the transaction was done and he tried to open the mobile and tried to insert the sim, after some time sim was inserted and in between he said as a matter of fact that my phone has seen better days. Now the phone did not accepted this sim and my £ 10 were going down the drain. thus I went to the Sunny Singh's shop he was not there but the Pakistani owner told me that there are mobile repairs technicians sitting, I handed him the phone for a repair bill of £8, I did not collected the phone for a day and felt relax, next day I collected the phone and did not went to the O2 office. Now you can retain your old number if you change the network buty one requires PAC code and my network was unable to respond. These were eid days

This city like any other any European city has a good transport system,infact no captilast country or any city can survive without an effective system of transportation,people must be able to go and come back from there work without any hassle,it should be able to handle all burden of people in a way that it should bring them to and back from work in a happy mood.

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I had no idea of how it works and here is how I learnt to cope with it.My university is within walking distance from my residence and although there is a university transport system that operates at night between students residences and campus ,I came to know about its existence almost after four months of stay and from this one can imagine how I cope with city system.My first interaction with the buses happened after a week but before that I had undertaken a ride on taxi so I think I first write about that.There are two types of taxis one is classical black taxi and the other are private taxis mostly Peugeot and Vauxall they are big in size and mostly in black colour,the third are more private in nature the Skoda,they are sedan in various colours but they display license prominently marked at the front and rear.Almost all taxis are radio operated,the black ones have a yellow indicator which if it is lighted means that taxi is available and you can wave your hand and it will stop but mind you unlike in our country it will not stop at all places but there are designated places where it will stop,there are taxi stops and parking areas,one thing is similar to Pakistan if the taxis are standing in parking area than you have to sit and avail the first one and not the next one.The taxi interior is as good and smell as fresh as a new one,you cannot smoke,drink or eat anything in the taxi.I have not tried so cannot say what is the fine or penalty for violating this .I have travelled quite often in taxis mostly to with mariox or going to her place at other times I availed the taxi once I was getting late for my work and this time the driver was a sikh otherwise mostly they are local white.The passenger generally addressed them as driver,there are no carrier overhead for luggage rather there is enough space in the cab to place your luggage. Neither I have seen anyone sitting in front seat with driver at least in black cabs.The meter is the working mode for payment,I remember on before Christmas I had to take a taxi to reach the university for attending a lunch and taxi took me from Bellshaugh court to University through Byres road and fare was over four pounds and driver returned me a pound saying'sir general fare is three pounds ,I brought you from a long route'.In queen Margaret residence there is a free phone all you have to do is to pick the receiver and press the button and a lady response and you tell her I am at QMR and needs a taxi and she will ask to where and you answer the palce and that's all,within ten minutes there would be a taxi,the drivers generally don't engage in conversation but if you do they response.fare is paid by pushing the amount through the window partion between the passengers and driver and balance is also given through the same pattern.Where I worked in camphill there are BMWs and there are also taxis parked,the point to bring home is that taxi drivers live as comfortably as any other,there is one person who owns a red Skoda private cab ,myself and he has never talked yet we have a bond because we have been seeing each other for over four months.I cannot say anything about the age pattern of cab drivers,however to drive black cabs one has to pass a special driving test for others one needs a driving licence which should be two years old.I have talked to Pakistani taxi drivers about how good or bad is the income.The general opinion of both was that recession has caused a slump in peoples habit of travelling in cabs,previously almost everyone used to travel even for a kilometre but not now,the cabbie from Mirpur further narrated that in good old day he used to charge the money more than the fare especially at night but not now,the other driver who is bit old and has been driving taxi for a decade,told me that it is better to rent or work for a company rather than owning a cab of your own.

Now about the buses, there are many types of buses but most common are the double deckers and long buses other types are small buses which are called city sprinters. Bus stops only at bus stops and it moves only in specific lanes. You stand at bus stop which are in abundance and consist of a shed and a sitting bench, there are advertisement in every bus stop which is in the form of a screen which displays anything from a movie to panty wear. All buses have a computer screen in front of them which displays the number and destination. I forgot to mention that in majority of the bus stops the times are displayed and timings of buses as well. The bus stops and its doors opened which are automatic and controlled by the driver, buses have low clearance, first the people disembark and then people climb although there is a partition and it can be done simultaneously also. You climb the bus and there is paying box in which you drop the fare which is standard one pound twenty pence for one way, the whole day fare consist of three pounds and fifty pence, thus you can travel all day, the driver press some buttons and a printed ticket comes out, the catch point is that you have to drop the exact fare and no change is given. The frequency of buses is quite sufficient I have seldom seen a bus crowdly even in early hours. Many people have passes which I have not seen closely but there are exemptions to pensioners and school going children. Within the bus there are seats reserved for disabled and old people and also ample space for mothers and fathers with prams, the buses have provisions for disabled and drivers do lower the platform at bus stop for their convenience.

When I first travelled on bus I had no idea about these things and I was also unaware that bus does not stop at every stop and you have to press the button to make it stop at the stop. In retrospect it was fun because I seldom bothered to know which bus goes where thus I will ask the people about the bus numbers and it seldom worked because in Glasgow city centre different buses stops t varying roads, I really had to spend hours rushing from one stop to the other to catch the bus which I was looking for. In the beginning I was travelling to Pollockshaw area. I still remember one fine morning when I was looking for the bus in city centre and there was a woman who guided me and when I said 'let me get the change' and bus was approaching she handed me one pound for fare.

More about the black taxis, by the end of my year long stay I simply refused to travel in any other taxi other than these taxis and my reason for travelling in taxi was mainly because I more than often was getting late for my work at Camp Hill mainly due to my own laziness. Yesterday on 26<sup>th</sup> September 09, I was again late and near central railway station there was a queue of taxis, they wait in turn for their number, the taxi in front was a van type Peugeot, I approached the black taxi which was next in line and told him that I just want to travel in his taxi, he apologised and said I cannot as this is not his turn, I replied 'ok I wait' and sat on the bench, I think he was stunned, he walked to the front taxi and talked to him meanwhile a passenger approached and sat in the front taxi thus matter was resolved and I sat with him, we talked, his daughter was starting her first year in the Glasgow university from Monday, I told him about myself and we chatted. Reason for such a loyalty to these black taxis is not eccentric rather they by their conduct has made such an impression that one feels totally at ease. I recall one night in February when I made a commitment with Catherine that I will come to the shawlands on Friday to listen her to music, I lost the way and had no money other than a lone pound, for hours I walked and walked in a semi circular way, there was no way to ask any one where is the city centre, finally I saw a non regular taxi, I approached him and inquired if he can just give me the direction to the city centre, he gave me the direction and also invited me to sit in, I told him that I don't have money, he said its okay way by the time we reached the city centre he asked me to pay, I said I had only a pound, he got angry and said 'I am not running a taxi on charity' I was taken aback but kept quiet and took it as

another day of the life. On the other hand a few days later I was going in a black taxi from City centre after working in a pub ,I had around six pounds and by the time we reached great western road abeam Hilton the fare was approaching so I told the driver to stop, he was quizzical as I had earlier told him that I am going to Queen Margaret ,I explained to him that I am now getting short of money, he replied ‘well I am not leaving you in the mid of road at this wee hours ‘and drove me to my residence at no extra charge.

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Everyone cannot drive these black taxis one has to pass a special kind of exam to get the licence in which primarily the candidate has to be thorough about the city .I once had a long chat with the driver ,he updated me on the procedures, there are presently around fifteen hundred black taxis operating in Glasgow and no new license has been issued in last ten years thus old taxis with licences are hot commodity and are being sold in the range of £30,000.He further narrated how an Indian man has bought one in this price range, he was confident that this guy has made a good deal. There are new versions of black taxis on road ,one can make out the old and new model ,it was Tom my security supervisor who educated me on this aspect while we would drive back from work through out the year, The new versions has some added features like ramp for disabled persons which by law all taxis are bound to have. Train system here is also efficient, I for long was reluctant to travel on them on long journeys and long journeys were mainly between Glasgow and Edinburgh which I had to undertake for two reasons one was connected to my b research with my dissertation and other was in getting the French visa which by itself was an ordeal. I was informed by Chhong my class fellow

### **Opening of Bank Account**

In Pakistan at least a couple of years ago opening of a bank account was an easy affair all you had to do was to walk in and after half an hour you had a bank account and you could have opened another bank account within another hour or so,I myself had bank accounts in almost every city of Pakistan in which I served and that totals around a dozen. Before coming to Scotland I had some difficulty in opening of bank accounts as now they required the identification number of mother card as well and two people who can verify your statement and data, it was cumbersome yet I had no idea what is in store for me in Glasgow

When I landed in Glasgow I had two bank drafts ,one in the name of university and other in my self,both drawn on Royal Bank of Scotland. After few days I went to open a bank account and I thought it should not take few minutes and with this idea I walked into the royal bank of Scotland ‘s branch on Byres Road. The branches here are small and not crowded,they have lot of promotional advertisement posters and there is no guard on the gate and neither they have huge offices with reserved car parking etc etc. There was one lady receptionist who very politely and in Scottish accent asked me the purpose and then inquire do I have any appointment ,to which I replied ,negative and after checking certain computers she said ‘the earliest appointment that I can fix for you is after a fortnight’ I was stunned, what do she mean by appointment and what this fortnight, this is not how I have been living in Pakistan, there I should have been able to open the account by now. I left the branch and after some distance I ventured into another branch this time of Bank of Scotland, same story but only time was little less.

I on given day reached the branch by an hour late and was given a fresh date, this was another lesson for me, I have always taken an hour or day plus in these matters as normal but it was now different ball and game, thus next time I reached well in time and at exact time I was met by a lady and she took me in her office and than she filled all the data on her

computer, the main emphasis was on my identification that was passport, my university identity card and then she told me that they will send a letter to my residence and after receipt of that letter I should come back and then my account will be open

It happened as she told and then again I went and was issued with a cheque book and a debit card as well. Now something about the credit card. Its not easy to have a credit card and after the exercise I went through I feel that people who have credit here are as important as people in my country having arms license. I was asked few questions and all these were fed into the computer and it is computer who finally judges whether I should have the card or not, in my case the computer said No.

The bank regularly sends me the statements and other data as well, it also adds profit on it on regular basis. It was also same in my country where in good old days a bank manager was taken and regarded as a honourable and a man of status but now it different ball and game, here it is not easy to open a bank account rather one has to fullfill a lot of requirement. Yet once a bank account has been opened then it acts as a kind of identity card, it is as important.

## Diary of a Bouncer In Glasgow

*Cambus Lang 8<sup>TH</sup> May 2009*

Cambus in Gaelic which is the old Scottish language spoken in highland means a torrent of wild riverine and Lang was a saint who erected many monasteries, thus CambusLang. It is in south Lanarkshire in Glasgow and here is a pub Smith and Jones where I had my first job as door supervisor.

I had the money and I was living comfortable in an ensuite apartment of university in great western Road. Yet there was a an urge to work and I did my security course and for over six month worked in all secure secutiry as patrol or state guards in camphill residential area. For the reason that I was being paid pound50 a night and two nights a week was good enough for me to pay my bar bill

We all have encounters with bouncers I had few one in new york and two other here in Glasgow. One night I was not allowed in viper club on great western Road. Of no reason. I normally dressed up in military way ie tie and suit and yet I was not allowed, the other incident I don't remember where happened. Even in talks with my university fellows I come to know that almost everyone hates them for obvious reasons as he is the sole authority which can allow you to enter a pub or can simply ruin your pleasant night, a bouncer can diminitate you in front of your girl friend and probably he is the only authority on these islands whose orders cannot be challenged in any court thus he is the most powerful person in United Kingdom

In Scotland there were no boncers couple of years who were traimeed prinary in my any club which is a private property the oowner has the right of admission and since all his earning depnds upons the people coming in and having a good time this nechter he wants to rarnis his image and nuther you want to go to any club where you are not sure of your safety.

This is where door supervision comes in to judje people whom he shoul allow to come in make sure that there is no threat to enioirm meib unside the club generally mainlain peace and order yeh he has no legal power of any sort he is not a pliceman he is first a door man and that all yet it is at point of entry into the club, that he has maximum power powers which are more than the overs of prime minster; he can simply say not allowed

and that's all o discussion nothing your prestige has been but down tour ego damaged and tou canot do anything. Where as the prime minster act can be challenged in court or partiament your is not now lets start from where at all started the time when a bouncer arrivrs at the campany I was and still works with upfront security located on west george street I from frsidence look a bus and got sown n the city centr, since I am not familaq with the layout of the city so generally I referace point and walk to the officer at around 1900 hours, I drin up the staid in my black suit a day before I was wid that I should have a black shrit also which I brought for ...10.00 and a tie of the company. I wear black leather sole shoes with studs under it and I smoke pipe. As I opened the door I see three fine bounce silting all aferica immrlragtis few asian sance students and few natives also.

I like Craig who is support marriage and generally the working environment séance sates factory yet it was clear to me that it lake professionation in a sense that they have called the bounces yet they are not sure of where to saind them. Since it was my first day so I frist kept enjoying the feeling. Soon I was told that I will be going to combusing; and one of the campany person look me in this car and dropped me there I very well remember the drive as he drove very fast and I did ask hut the question I have you ever take part in a rall and I think he enjoyed this and said no but he looks forward to it.

This puts is in a good location not on the man road having a bast carpark in front. I saw obliko an African of mind forties in sweation and b lack tris as the other bouncer I was disappointed; in a way that why the clerss lades in not being followed (the wherent military officer in me) yeh 2kept quite and understood that today is my first day thus I should act as a junior. He was findl he look me inside the club and introduced to me the manager I signed the register in which enter my nace SIA licnce member and the time. Dbollo showed me the layout of the club, the fire exits the toilets; make bouncer is not allowed to go to a ladies washroom.

The pub is a large pub with a wooden counttire behind it were the bolltes of liquin seating arrangemts of high chair, sofa seats flat screen TV and a small dance floor with a DJ.

The cround was a nix some eldealy floks some very young but orver Lt some middle ages few lonely mean but majority is couples or in groups. The highlight are definalety the girls who were in flashy dresses few were in jeand and lone tops. I know that every one is watching me and judging me.

I stood out with obthlo people were coming in but not in a great member. Obtlo would open the dor for every one which I failed to understaid why become this not part of job but I did not asking wahy. People would also comeout ot smoke as smoking is not allowed inside and this is the real part because you talk to their they latle to you as long as their cigretlle larts you long as their ucgarellte larts you hear convecation you joke they joke. People in Scotland or in Glasgow are very friendly indeed they talk they love to talk.

There wa a women who come out to smoke and asked for a lighter and later she revealed that she is about to get married and its kind of her party. She asked me about myself and I lor her I am a student of war shiches and har atililude shugied and she started on servies subjects well she wnet in and till half part traves she admilled of her jeans

of marriage as she had been living atine and independut and now she has to readjust then there were two women and one of than asked me who is the prillist of them and I saind the elde ine and the youfact saind she is my mother and I said she looks younger than you I load laugh and nother was happy daughter who was in her mid this ties then told me how she got looked on to drugs and I admitted the same for lash and we become friends.

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Obbotol remaind bring in his mobile and later and me thath he is already working as a remrity guards or the other company and thus right now he is at two place at sametime. He sand I have to cover him up as he would be gone for the hours and I agreed. He also Glasgow and other one at Norway and ater this I had lot of respect for him he also promnted me to give my lete phone member to the lady but I aclmied of my bring sky ihn this field.

Inside I requested DJ to play my fovrite gogs which he did and I thoughty enjoyed the muse than the nht ended with both girls lassing and language and that all I know that I wount be able to see then again dadness. Now inside the girls on the comter also came out for sm oke and later revealed that she works in an offcer in day time and workes here in the evening ad I felt so ashamed of myself in fornt of her she said that she own's a house a car and ha boyfriend as well. She has been working in erusie steps for oever three years and I asked her hono was that experience how she used to line on ship and so many other question and she gave me lot of information on this subject.

There was another girls in her leave how was excuted because tomorrow she was gelting her council house and she asked me if I am married and then joking asked would I marry erh then there was an erlerely women in the puts whose shon was in amry and irag.

That was the first night went there second time next day and it was the day of celtic is p[r]agers match and I my first enconted of pub violmece when one man who incat had two other friends hit ine man with his head the group feering and shoulign at each other fnally police was called and club was closed at 2100 hours.

My next assignemtn was a (tiger tiger) club on Gifford street. Here we were there bouncer and the heas was a real professional because he did not gave me even a pipe break this was a much much bigger club of the storeyed with a basement there were three parties going in tow were birthdays and two tere hen party which are girls parties before their marriage night.

I was made to stand on the dance floor nd I enjoyed the music the DJ was the best that I he sian in Glasgow so far.

A word about DJ's I think hey hve the best job they can drink they can dance and the play music of own choice and fell people happy by playing their favirtie music in the club I with my own backgorin and experience see thepeople hono they reacht behave hono girls intact how male egousn and chounosim is inflated and offended. Hono the evening progress, how ligquon affects the people what happens at the end. Because I am the only one who can stare it them who can walk with full freedom to any part of the put or club who can talk with any one. None know that my fect are aching or I an dying if thirst or

what is my feeling towards them I can understand how people feel towards me because of my colour my height and my mustaches I have never been photographed so much as in these pubs and clubs and never before so many women have touched my long moustache in fact the only woman before was my wife.

I as an outsider to this city was and in fully understandable how my bearing and my conduct can change people attitudes and impressions about people and form my part of world.

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We all are nationalist by heart its other name of racism but we don't admit it. In the pubs and clubs I had lot of discussion and talks with people on various range of topics the very fact that I was a post master students of war studies brought many people to come out with their version of great war. In the LastPost pub in Paisley where I went for work, there was one person who invariably spend the whole time with me coming out with me to discuss his version of second world war. Majority of British people and especially men have very limited knowledge of the great war it is really amazing to see how a modern country has deceived its own people in the name of principles the standard theory of all of these people revolve around the treaty which British had with the Polish and how manly it is to uphold the treaty at any cost, similar are their thoughts about the first great war but here they do concede that it was imperial war involving all the related kings and czars.

At the same pub I had talk with three women all elderly who had just arrived from Spain with their three bags and they told me that they had gone there to purchase cigarettes from duty free as it is more economical to buy them at Spain and also to have holidays. This pub is now in the same building which used to be a post office it is now owned by WetherSpoon group a gigantic pub by any standard.

In the same pub I met Christian a petite woman who in fact said that I am the first bouncer who says welcome and from there onwards, she told me she is mother of eight children and all of them have been taken away by their father due to domestic violence and she has not seen them for a year, now this got my attention and I developed a soft corner for her we exchanged telephone numbers and after a week or so she rang me up and we met in the city, roamed around had a drink and that is it, we both were financially not that very well off to treat each other, she was illiterate and that was the reason that her husband took the children away but I suspect that she had mental illness also but in any case it was another window into the society. Next week or two she invited me to her town and I went there for the reason that it is very difficult for me to say no to other people and it is one of the key factor that I avoid them. She took me to her flat which was not that very bad it was from the council I bought a pizza enroute we both walk without even touching each other, her flat were two rooms plus a kitchen and a washroom, we ate the pizza and then she put on the television she had the pay movie facility and we watched a movie probably a James Bond thriller and after that she went to other room and I slept on the couch, in the morning I left after having a cup of tea there is reason for narrating all this in such detail because after one week she rang me and as I was busy in my dissertation I declined to meet her, however on the same very day when I was walking upstairs to my flat in the .....location I met two very young girls one white and other an Asian probably from Hong Kong they were sitting on the stairs of the apartment therefore I assume they are students since all they ask for was a cigarette thus I told them that I don't smoke but my flat mates James does so thus they can come in and have a smoke which

they did. James is from Nigeria and a very nice guy he was excited to meet them and so were they, James requested me to get some beers from the nearby market which I did however I had left my mobile in the flat, when I came back there was a call from Christine and she was howling like a cat, I failed to understand the whole spectrum but as I went through the text messages I came to know that these two girls have send obnoxious texts calling her {Christine} an old hen and similar names, it triggered Christine who assumed that its me who is doing all this intentionally and now she also mentioned that when I was in her flat I had passed similar remarks about her and her things and very soon her boy friend is going to be back from the Spain and will teach me a lesson. It took me almost a week to get rid of Christine and these two girls as well. In another wether spoon pub at kilkirmen look I had a conversation with as women by the name of Ann who was at the time of her birth was given away by her mother to a caltotic organistion and she was adopedy by family and raised in newzealand and she still see her real other in dreams she Ann now was a daughter of nineteen, Ann also pointed out that she feels uncomfortable with the way new generaltion of girls dressed up at this she pointed to a girls in light short and simillamsly Ann herself language adjusted erh loose transparuat blouse and said well this is fashion!

**Air Observation Post**  
**Royal Air Force {Army Personnel}**  
**1939-1945**  
**Evolution & Campaigns**

**Submitted For Master of Letters {War Studies}**  
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**Abstract**

In 1938 War Office raised the issue of aerial observation for artillery fire with Air Ministry, where it objected the existing method of it being done by RAF as slow and insisted it being done by Royal Artillery officers flying slow unarmed aircraft, thus a series of trials, paper battle started with both services having conflicting views. Twelve Air Observation Post Squadrons Royal Air Force {Army Personnel} were raised, the first in August 1941 with joint

responsibility ,deployed in Africa, Sicily, Burma and Europe with acclaimed success.This paper analyse the history of these squadrons 1939-1945 as portrayed by universally accepted one sided approach of published historians with primary sources.

### **Abbreviations and explanation of terms used in the paper**

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**A.G.R.A** Army Group Royal Artillery, a grouping of artillery regiments that include field, medium and heavy regiments, allocated to army

**A.O.P.** Air Observation Post, a light unarmed aircraft {Auster} flown exclusively by the Royal Artillery Officers.

**A.L.G.** Advance Landing Ground selected close to the forward defence line.

**BRA** Brigadier Royal Artillery

**Battery** Sub section of a artillery regiment,2-3 batteries form an regiment commanded by a major,it further has 2-3 troops ,it normally had 12 guns till 1940.

**C.R.A** Commander Royal Artillery,the appointment at divisional level of senior artillery officer, he was an advisor and not a commander and as such does not command directly the artillery regiments in the division

**C.C.R.A.** Commander Corps Royal Artillery, the senior artillery officer at corps level

**Direct Fire.** The artillery fire in which guns can see the target

**Field ,Medium and Heavy Artillery.** The division of guns basing upon their range and calibre,Thus field guns had a range of 12000 yards ,medium of 20000 yards and heavy more than these two.

**F.O.O.** Forward observer officer,an artillery officer who is attached with the infantry battalion to carry out observed fire of his battery

**G Staff.** The staff in the divisional ,corps and at army level which looks after the actual operational requirement,its different from the ‘Q’ staff which looks after the administrative aspect

**Indirect Fire .** Artillery fire in which guns rely upon the maps for firing

**Ranging** The procedure of adjusting the fall of artillery shot on to a specific spot before the actual fire.

## Introduction

Royal Regiment of Artillery after its raising in 1716 virtually set the pace, trends and standards for British Army, they were the first one to have their own academy in 1746. They overcame their limitation of speed by raising Royal Horse Artillery in 1796. Their tactical doctrine was threatened in Boer War<sup>116</sup> when the gunners, guns and observers were forced to take cover because of Boers effective long range rifles, they reacted swiftly by employing the balloons of Royal Engineers to make sure their rounds are falling correctly at far distance. Yet the gunners retained the command of fire in their hands, the executive word of fire was the privilege of artillery commander and not that of observer unless he happens to be the same. WW1 was artillery's war, gunners employed balloons, kites and aircraft to hit at the enemy with precision, it were the aircraft of RFC which caught the imagination of the gunners and were used extensively for observation and correction of fire, new gunnery procedures were evolved to facilitate the aircraft advantages in speed and limitation of endurance but in dying moments of war Royal Flying Corps challenged their birth right of destroying an enemy from distance so much so that future of entire artillery was put on stake. The nation and parliament gradually accepted that air power can undertake the land forces tasks at a much more economical cost. Artillery which emerged out of the Great War as the most accomplished arm in terms of number of troops and promotions started fading out not only to RAF but also to tanks.

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Gunners took to the passion of air by establishing their own flying club in 1933 and with limited flying experience on the eve of WW2 they raised the query of fire control of their guns and negated the established procedures. Among the gunners two officers stand out, Brigadier Massy {Lieutenant General retired} and Captain Charles Bazeley {Lieutenant Colonel retired}. Both these officers were together at RAFC as such they had in common the passion of flying, they promoted the idea of Flying Observation Post in 1938 where battery commander and gunner officers should be trained as pilots and aircraft should act as an elevated platform with gunner at the control. They argued in different manners at varying level, Massy by virtue of his official position as senior artillery commander and Bazeley through the written words, they were supported not only by the senior gunner officers but also by the formation commanders. One of the reason of this support was due also due to the constant and consistent friction between RAF and army that dates back to latter's raising.

RAF's senior officer were all army officers who had got their flying brevet as RFC pilots; majority of them had flown the artillery observation sorties in WW1, thus they contested the proposed changes basing upon the experience and the realities of coming days. The concept finally matured in 1941 with the raising of Air Observation Post {AOP} Squadron, before VE a dozen such squadrons were raised. These squadrons were unique as they were jointly operated by the Artillery and RAF; not surprisingly both services had different opinion about their performance and utility in the war.

The existing written material which is limited to half a dozen books on the subject of AOP are almost entirely written by AOP officers. The very first official history was published in 1956 by the AOP Association and its forward was written by the Field Marshall Alan

<sup>116</sup> Geoffrey Parker, ed; *The Cambridge History Of Warfare*, {New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005}, pp. 256-259.

Brooke the war time Chief Of Imperial General Staff ‘ my feelings on the Air O.P. were unfortunately not shared by some of those involved in the original discussions’<sup>117</sup>. The theme set by the very first book revolved around that ‘It is fair to level against RAF certain criticism...they think that theirs was the air and everything that was in it’<sup>118</sup>. Same theme has been repeatedly adopted by almost all historians and academics writing on the subject including AO.P. pilots writing memoirs ‘The Royal Air Force said it was impossible but the Air OP proved them wrong’<sup>119</sup>. This over emphasizing and zealot display of esprit de corps is also displayed none other but General Sir Martin Farndale who wrote the forward of another Air OP history book ‘Their flying hours broke all records’<sup>120</sup>. On the other hand in the sphere of RAF history there is hardly ever more than a paragraph for the Air OP and in majority of field formations published histories the AOP at times is not even included in the order of the battle. Thus there seems to be a contradiction in the raising, history and operational evaluation of the Air OP. Every British regiment needs a hero and Lieutenant Colonel Charles Bazeley ‘Father of AOP’<sup>121</sup> is the hero and RAF in general and Air Marshall Barrett in particular is the villain<sup>122</sup>.

While working on the dissertation an extensive access to the primary sources was available at National Archives Kew, Museum of Army Flying{MAF}Middle Wallop and Museum of Royal Artillery{Fire Power} Woolwich. With the evidence of these primary sources the existing conception and perception about AOP have been debated and particularly through its employment and war record in the various campaigns and battles following gospels of their history has been analysed.

**First Gospel.** Air Observation through Artillery officers flying and controlling the fire was more useful than the RAF pilots doing so. **Second Gospel.** RAF deliberately delayed and created hurdles in the maturity of this concept. **Third Gospel.** Captain Charles Bazeley and Major General Parham are the prophets of this concept.

**Fourth Gospel.** These Air Observation Squadrons proved their worth in the WW2.

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<sup>117</sup> Parham and Belfield, *Unarmed into Battle The Story Of Air Observation Post*{Warren & Sons, Winchester, 1956} pix

<sup>118</sup> Ibid p 18-19 and 21

<sup>119</sup> Andrew, Lyell, *Memoirs Of An Air Observation Officer*{Picton, Wiltshire, 1985}, this sentence is written boldly on the back cover.

<sup>120</sup> Jones, Maslen, *Fire By Order ,Recollection of Service With 656 Air Observation Squadron Post Squadron in Burma* ,{Red Wood Books, Wiltshire, 1997}.

<sup>121</sup> John Terraine, *The Right Of The Line*, {London: Sceptre, 1988} pp-398.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, p. 399

## Chapter One.

### *Artillery-Air Co-operation 1914-1939*

On 12<sup>th</sup> April 1938 the General Officer Commanding Southern Command wrote a letter to Under Secretary of State at the War Office in which he highlighted the importance of the artillery and how its lethality is getting impotent due adherence to First Great War's techniques and procedures of observing and directing the artillery fire from air, General educated War Office on the existing system being employed by the Royal Air Force{RAF}pilots in which they are using 'Clock Code' method for correcting the fall of shell .

'Present system is a relic of the war of 1914-1918 and but little advance has been made...this system has following grave objections...concentrated fire cannot be controlled from air ...aircraft are compelled to fly at low heights over the enemy lines where they will be subjected to an ever increasing volume and accuracy of fire...{RAF}pilot is unaware of tactical situation'.<sup>123</sup>

General as a remedy suggested to War Office that if the pilot is a gunner officer and take off from the ground close to the artillery battery then the situation can improve, he also informed the higher authorities that already there are over hundred gunner officers who holds private flying licences and they can be employed in this venture, in the last he strongly recommended that only limitation in his other wise undisputable idea is that 'observation from behind our own lines may not be possible to a sufficient depth'.<sup>124</sup> War Office after two months send the almost same contents to Air Ministry for their comments.<sup>125</sup>

The basis of this letter were not the results of any army manoeuvres or trials nor any army study on the procedures in vogue rather it was the conviction of Brigadier Royal Artillery{BRA} the senior artillery advisor in the southern command Brigadier Massy who was obsessed with the idea{as later events proved}, he himself was an amateur pilot having learnt his flying from the RAFC<sup>126</sup> whose founding patron he was, a club which in reality had

<sup>123</sup> WO 216/77 ; S.C.No 5/1458{R.A.} ; Notes on the History of FOP,also MAF Document No 11.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p-2.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, War Office Letter No.43/artillery/456/M.T.29<sup>th</sup> June 1938.

<sup>126</sup> Ed Hughes,, *History Of The Royal Regiment Of Artillery Between The Wars 1919-1939*{ London: Brassy's, ,1992}, p. 112.

no aircraft of its own till 1937 and was formed in 1933 to provide monetary loans to keen artillery officers interested in flying from a close by civil flying club, by the time the letter was written the RAFC had over hundred members, The hard fact is that at no time these gunners or the artillery regiments ever carried any kind of trials utilising these light aircraft. Thus Massy was the man who patronised the flying in artillery and saw its practical implication as well and then pursued it vehemently. The historians of Air Observation Post have given him very little credit for this.<sup>127</sup>

Between 1912 and 1913 there were efforts made to establish an “artillery cooperation role “ for the RFC and No 3 Squadron was made responsible for this and trials were carried out during 1913 army manoeuvres in Scotland ;major limitation was the lack of communication between aircraft and the ground.. Another aspect was the lack of trained artillery observer in the aircraft<sup>128</sup> thus the very first observer course started in July 1914.

With these primitive tactical and technical thoughts of air co-operation the British Expeditionary Force{BEF} arrived in France under General John French with four divisions of army and almost four squadrons of RFC whose primary and some what sole role was gathering of information .On 26<sup>th</sup> August 1914 the first major battle between the BEF and Germans took place and Royal Artillery learnt a bitter lesson in the battle of LeCateau when the guns were deployed in the front and in open resultantly they suffered heavily for this ,it was probably the last time that guns were ever deployed so close to the infantry and in open , ‘artillery moved to the rear for the safety’.<sup>129</sup> It had an adverse impact on the relation ship between the three arms{infantry, cavalry ,artillery} guns from being a direct firing weapon became an indirect support thus regiment lost its face to the other two .Artillery reliance on RFC now became almost compulsory to complement the accuracy of fire and to reconnaissance for targets, this task was thus called artillery reconnaissance {Arty R} and other army reconnaissance became tactical {Tac R}.Arty R was somewhat different from artillery observation as in the former the pilot would remain in air and correct the fire of the guns.

Before the end of 1914 RFC was organised into wings and squadrons for the corps, yet there was only one squadron{No 9}which was equipped with the wireless for artillery observation. By end of 1915 each corps had its own squadron equipped for tactical and artillery reconnaissance. Squadrons were commanded by the majors and the flights by the captains ,all the flying crew was invariably officers where as in the German Air Force the pilot was non commissioned and observer the officer<sup>130</sup>.

At that time the artillery observation from air was very slow and tedious task, there were no two way communication between the aircraft and the guns, in some aircraft there were wireless sets which were very heavy and it was not easy to pick up the Morse code amidst the noise of the engine. There were thus trained artillery observers in the aircraft that

<sup>127</sup> Parham and Belfield, *Unarmed into Battle*, pp.10-13.

<sup>128</sup> Shelford. I, and ,Dominick, *FirePower* , pp. 101-102.

<sup>129</sup> . Shelford and Dominick *Fire Power* , p. 68; Ernest Swinton, ed, *Twenty Years After, The Battlefield of the 1914-1918, Then and Now volume 1* , {London: George Newnes Limited, 1939} pp.63-68.

<sup>130</sup> . *Twenty Years After volume 2* , pp.1036-1045: *Twenty Years After Supplementary Volume* , pp.484-502.

would carry out these tasks and observations would be dropped through message writing from the aircraft or aircraft would land beside the artillery battery<sup>131</sup>. In 1915 the War Office issued a pamphlet ‘Co-Operation of Aeroplanes With Artillery’.<sup>132</sup> It dealt with the employment of aircraft in support of artillery. War Office highlighted the necessity of close co-operation between artillery and RFC headquarters at all times stating that aircraft can assist the artillery which is supporting the infantry immediately in front by locating the targets and giving approximate range ‘*it will be of great advantage if the observer is able to bring fire to bear immediately*’.<sup>133</sup>

The point to note is that War Office admitted, expected and promoted the fact that pilot should engage the target as quickly as possible and should not follow the deliberate ground procedures which in any case were dependent upon the individual battery commanders, some of them would give the correction of the day basing upon the smoke drift of their morning cigar’s smoke.

An artillery gun or combination of guns{battery/regiment} can achieve at best while firing indirectly is an area destruction, since target is not visible thus the battery commander relies upon either map or the ground observation which can take over fifteen to twenty minutes just to hit a target.. Yet fire is not guaranteed to fall at the same spot because variables like wind and wear/tear of gun barrel differs daily . This luxury of time was not available to the pilot as fuel endurance was the key factor thus observation had to be quick and immediate . Royal Engineers Lieutenants D.S. Lewis and B.T.James along with Major W.Salmond of RFC devised a simple ‘**Clock Code**’<sup>134</sup> method of indicating target to the battery and its immediate neutralisation, it was assisted by the gridded mapping of the Western Front with maps of 1/20,000. It was simple in which target was imagined to be the centre of a clock with its axis running true north and south, 6 o clock being the southern point, various concentric circles at radial distances of 50,100,200,400 and 500 yards from the target lettered ‘A’ to ‘F’ enabled the fall of the round achieving an accuracy to the tune of fifteen – twenty yards. Royal Artillery apart from the aircraft also employed balloons and kites for target observation and correction. Balloons were more effective as they could remain in air for a long duration but they were flying ducks for the German fighter aircraft, the observers in balloons were later supplied with parachutes ,similarly kites were also used for this purpose. One balloon observer wrote ‘ I could see the enemy till 10,000 yards....artillery officers generally did not like this observation from balloon’.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Lee Kennett, *The First Air War 1914-1918* {Toronto:the Free Press,1991},p.33.

<sup>132</sup> WO 158/681; RFC Co-operation with Artillery letter from CIGS to G.O.C- I.E.F. ‘D’ Basradated 1915,see also WO 158/682,683 and 684 dealing with general questions about RFC.. H.Wilson and J.Hammerton, ,ed,*The Great War The Standard History of The All-Europe Conflict Volume 1,A new arm in the element by an expert in aviation*{London:Amalgamated Press Limited ,.1914}pp-315-346:

<sup>133</sup> Ibid,p.3.

<sup>134</sup> Bidwell, ,and Graham,*FirePower* p.105.,Mead, *Eyes in the Air* p. 103.. *Twenty Years’More about the Guns*’ pp. 219-228 and ‘*With R.F.C.In The Great War*’ pp.484-499.

<sup>135</sup> [www.imperialwarmuseum](http://www.imperialwarmuseum) .

Royal Regiment of Artillery was bit unusual in the other wise eccentric British Army as they preferred to call their combination of two batteries unit commanded by a lieutenant colonel as 'Artillery Brigade' and this nomenclature lasted till 1938. The command structure of artillery was also different, thus an artillery brigadier does not have any real command, he is advisor to infantry or cavalry divisional commander and all his orders had to pass through the 'G' staff of the division, at higher level again an artillery major general is merely an advisor to the corps or army commander, therefore artillery developed its own psyche in which despite their fire power and sheer size of force they were not a fighting arm but a supporting one. Thus it was difficult for the artillery commanders at all level to accept the fire orders from an aerial observer it was taking away the last vestige of honour from them, thus they resisted direct orders but accepted and expected the observation.

.. After the armistice both Army and Royal Navy demanded the return of their aircraft wings and there was a feeling to dissolve RAF, but it was due to Major General Trenchard that RAF survived on the plea of empire policing.. Royal Navy under Admiral Beatty were adamant to have the flying wing being resorted back to them purely on grounds of operational requirement, as Beatty said 'Air arm of the navy is a naval unit of the fighting fleet exactly similar to the light cruiser or destroyer arm'<sup>136</sup>. Army on the other hand did not take air seriously, neither it pursued as vigorously as Royal Navy did rather it attacked the 'basic moral fibre of RAF officers'<sup>137</sup> and even proposed that every army officer in future would be trained in flying the way they are being trained on riding. RAF thus gave away to certain concessions more to RN and less to army that included having officers from both services on secondment apart from raising of Coastal Command yet a lasting friction developed among RAF and army based upon personal egos. In 1929 a leading artillery officer contemplating about future debated upon the idea of artillery commander controlling the fire from air but then he rejected the idea in next sentence as it would be contrary to customs of service for an artillery commander to be away once the divisional commander is in office. He also negated the thought of having a gunner as pilot as in his opinion it is more easy to teach a pilot of RAF about gunnery than to teach a gunner about flying.<sup>138</sup>

.. Artillery in the post armistice gain a lot of credibility and offset the traditional hierarchy of the organisation which was primarily infantry or cavalry oriented. The number of gunner generals outnumbered both infantry and cavalry. CIGS from 1923-1932 was a gunner; Field Marshall Milne followed by another gunner General Sir Montgomery-Massingberd and probably it was due to the pressures of these gunners that in 1935 the first trials of 'Rota' an auto gyro were carried out mainly for the Royal Artillery.<sup>139</sup>

Gyro was invented by a Spanish Cerva in 1926 and it had a remarkable ability to operate from rough fields to land back in a confined area. It was flown by two RAF pilots with two gunner officers Lieutenant Mead and Major Norman Langs on board to carry out

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<sup>136</sup> Hyde, Montgomery, *British Air Power Between The Wars 1918-1939* {London: Heineman, 1976}, p. 109.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid, p. 141.

<sup>138</sup> Robinson Rowan Colonel, *Artillery Today and Tomorrow*, {London: William Clowes & Sons, 1930}, pp. 52-60.

<sup>139</sup> WO 32/2840 outlining modernisation of arty till 1937-1938..

the trials of observing aerial observation , 'we took half a dozen shoots...my battery commander could not observe the fall of the rounds and felt that flying control should be in his hand'.<sup>140</sup> Rota was an ideal aerial platform for artillery tasks as it could fly very slow and it was difficult for any aircraft to locate it during flying. Later these Rotas were not put under any trial due to technical reasons .There were quite a few artillery officers who have been flying Rota, in fact the very first gunner officer who is credited with the idea of floating air observation post ,Major Parham<sup>141</sup>{Later major general}owned one at that time.

Also in early thirties the preparation for a future war started in earnest with RAF taking the gauntlet and emerging as the most viable saviour, relying heavily upon its bomber force to an extent that it over looked the fighters almost totally. The question of army-air co-operation was on low priority yet a new multi purpose aircraft Lysander was in making, designed to meet almost all of the army requirements that included tactical and artillery reconnaissance provision of aerial photography was another task of these aircraft. RAF was not totally insensitive to army needs but the time, resources and over all strategic posture that included 'Knock Out Blow'<sup>142</sup> created an atmosphere of almost mistrust in the army hierarchy and it was not helped by the fact that RAF increased the number of aircraft for army support only from 90 to 120 in its expansion programme .On the other hand army itself was in a state of inertia, in the first ever review of first great war 'Kirkee Report 1931'<sup>143</sup> every thing was fine with the army and artillery despite the fact that artillery was still bound to horse...In the same time period Royal Navy{RN}was still fighting for its control of the Fleet Air Arm{FAA} with RAF and they finally won the battle in July 1937 under 'Inksip Report'.<sup>144</sup> And that was the catalyst for the Khakis to also have a share of air cover and none other than the Royal Artillery, the most technical, educated and yet not treated at par socially in army customs came in fore front for revival of air co-operation of by gone days by exploiting the Clock Code method. Surprisingly army never considered having its own air wing merely for casualty evacuation as part of Royal Army Medical Corps{RAMC}.

Air Ministry 's reaction to the letter of southern command on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1938 was professional.. They highlighted that in WW1 same procedure was used with effectiveness and aircraft does not have to fly low to observe the fall of rounds rather observation in that war was conducted from an elevation of ten thousand feet and above. Air Ministry further pointed out that under present tense international situation it would be much better if the existing system is improved rather than venturing into a new one as the 'system has been the basis of all post war training'.<sup>145</sup> War Office's rejection of these logics was reminiscences of verbal bouts these two offices had in early twenties and they reflects the military culture which

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<sup>140</sup> Peter Mead, *Soldiers In The Air, The Development of Army Flying*{London:Ian Allen,London,1967},pp.5-9.

<sup>141</sup> Parham and Belfield, *Unarmed into Battle* , p.10.

<sup>142</sup> Jhon Terrence Right Of Line

<sup>143</sup> Fire Power p 150,187,.see also WO 32/2840

<sup>144</sup> British Air Policy between wars,p 402,.fire power 261-263

<sup>145</sup> WO 216/77 Notes on the History of the FOP now called AOP,Air Ministry reply 768959/38/S.6

finally led to the disaster of Dunkirk .War Office insisted upon carrying out trials in June 1938 to which Air Ministry reluctantly agreed<sup>146</sup> in its 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1938 letter, it was also agreed upon that three artillery officers with varying experience should carry out the trials . No 22 Army Co-operation Group RAF and School of Artillery conducted these trials at Larkhill in February 1939. Artillery officers led by Captain Bazeley flew Taylorcraft aircraft which was owned by the RAFC and evaluated it against the RAF army support aircraft Lysander. At shorter range the slow moving aircraft was quick to adjust the fire and also picked the fall of round more quickly than fast moving Lysander but at range beyond 5000 yards it was Lysander which was effective and Bazeley himself admitted this that ‘they are unable to see the fall of round at that distance on a clear day’.<sup>147</sup>

Captain Charles Bazeley{Lieutenant Colonel retired}remained Royal Artillery Flying Club secretary in 1934 and learnt his flying there, Bazeley in 1937 was seconded to RAF. He is regarded by almost all the published material as the founding father of Air Observation Post{AOP}<sup>148</sup> by virtue of his 1938 essay for the annual Duncan Artillery Prize Essay .It is important to analyse his thoughts in detail, first he did not won the essay it was won by the officer who wrote that present day RAF procedures are good enough. Bazeley had limited flying experience and his thoughts reflect that.

‘Aircraft is an ideal observation post...on 90 days out of 100 when it is possible to fly it is possible to rise to 1000 feet ,on 7 out of 10 days it is possible to see 6-7 miles horizontally...army co-operation pilot has to undergo a highly technical training, he has to send message by Morse code and receive them in air... in short he{RAF pilot}is a superman...nor it is necessary that the gunner’s flying training should be comprehensive...modern aircraft requires very little maintenance...Observation constitute a major part of all artillery ...control is exercised by a pilot who cannot be trained as a professional gunner...pilot cannot select targets on ground as he is not a gunner, pilot can control only one troop at a time...aircraft should be provided on a scale of three per field regiment and medium regiment.’<sup>149</sup>

He also highlighted the difficulties which are being faced by the artillery in aerial observation as the pilots are RAF pilots and who does not speak gunner’s language . Bazeley’s idea was that an aircraft should be placed next to every battery and battery commander should simply get airborne after just twelve weeks of flying course..

The result of trials became controversial as both services having varying concepts. Army or rather artillery pressed home the advantage of low speed aircraft as it saves time and RAF highlighting the range limitation of the aircraft. Army had no in depth air knowledge other than the RAFC officers who more as a regimental pride were keen to have the aircraft on the other side RAF senior officers were practically all army officers who had taken active part in the WW1 as observers or had flown these artillery related missions. For the rest of the year the trials went on using four different types of aircraft including Cierva Gyro<sup>150</sup> but it was

<sup>146</sup> AIR Report on Army/Air requirement ,pp.144-145.

<sup>147</sup> CAB 65/2 8<sup>th</sup> November 1939

<sup>148</sup> Page No. **Error! Bookmark not defined..**

<sup>149</sup> Royal Artillery Journal October 1939,pp 313-334,see also Unarmed into battle p 115,eyes in air pp 56-64,soldiers in air pp,memors of air op pp 98,fire by order pp76,right of line 443,

<sup>150</sup> D Flight papers,FOP trials,extract from No 22 Group Orb dated January 1940,MAF folder No.5

rejected by Bazeley on grounds of maintenance problem RAF was mentally occupied in a more strategic game than to be dragged into such affair and were right in pointing out that its more appropriate to mend the existing system because time is the key factor and precisely this is what happened ,on 1<sup>st</sup> September Germany invaded Poland and on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1939 Great Britain declared war on Germany

### **1940-1941.Flying Observation Post to Air Observation Post Trials in France, Raising of Squadrons, Selection of Aircraft**

Existing published material has overlooked the trials of AOP in the France with a statement ‘experiment had been launched too late’.<sup>151</sup> Study of primary sources reveals following.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1940 Major General Massy now Deputy Chief of Imperial General Staff{DCIGS} wrote letters to the Air Ministry and BEF<sup>152</sup>, both letters were contradiction to each other , one to Air Ministry stressed that the issue of FOP has taken a lot of time and it is understood that no suitable aircraft is yet found so another trials should be carried with a request that Taylorcraft aircraft should be modified for this by 29<sup>th</sup> January 1940 . Other written to the BEF ‘the machine is excellent ...now only it has to be tested under battlefield environments whether it can evade the enemy aircraft’<sup>153</sup>.Thus at this stage DCIGS hoped that aircraft will be selected on one hand and on the other hand he is informing the BEF that it has been already selected. . This selected dissemination of information suiting the over all concept of AOP was a double edge sword as it created a general confusion among all the concerned staff officers. On 2<sup>nd</sup> February Captain Bazeley visited France and on 8<sup>th</sup> February he wrote the report in which he highlighted that French are carrying out the similar tests but the major difference with them is that they are using Autogiro and moreover in their concept the aircraft is not flown by the gunner officer rather he is the observer.<sup>154</sup>Basing on this report Massy issued detail instructions for the trial of FOP in the France which was already proposed by the No 22 Group. The aim was to test the aircraft, to contemplate the organisation of the FOP and to carry out live shooting .In the first phase the flight was to be stationed with the BEF and an entourage of an artillery and anti aircraft battery to proceed to the Maillay for trials with the French and on 9<sup>th</sup> May this flight was to report at the 51 British Infantry Division, this division was instructed to keep this flight as far possible in the French zone of 3<sup>rd</sup> Army because the Luftwaffe is bound to attack it. Furthermore RAF was to provide the fighters to carry out the evasive tactics. In BEF there was no idea about this AOP as one liaison officer wrote to the other ‘ Bazeley flying circus is coming ,I am not sure what it is’.<sup>155</sup>Massy did not informed RAF and neither he himself proposed that British Army should also put in to practice the French concept of AOP where observer is not the flyer.

<sup>151</sup> Parham and Belfield, *Unarmed into Battle*, p.16.

<sup>152</sup> WO 197/70 B.M. M.O.7./15. dated 20<sup>th</sup> January 1940,also letters dated 25<sup>th</sup> April 1940 and MAF document No.14 Folder No 5

<sup>153</sup> Ibid dated 26<sup>th</sup> January 1940,AIR 35/11 S 1411/air 4 dated 1<sup>st</sup> February 1940

<sup>154</sup> MAF. D Flight papers ,Folder No 5,Document No.15

<sup>155</sup> AIR 35/113 letter of Captain Koch De Gooreyand,Liasion Officer,dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1940

Air Ministry handed the task to No 22 Group which tasked No 77 Wing who formed a Flight No1488, to carry out the experiments<sup>156</sup>. But the first and foremost issue was the aircraft.. The existing aircraft which were under study included American Stinson Taylorcraft and Cagnet .RAF earnestly wanted to develop this FOP procedure as it would have spared their crew, they were under the impression that if this light aircraft is inducted than the army co-operation aircraft would be freed, they recommended Moth aircraft .On 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1940 for security reasons the nomenclature of the flight was changed to D Flight, the contention of the Canadian Air OP history is wrong which suggests that D Flight name was given because of Taylorcraft aircraft.. War Office also decided that in future instead of Flying Observation Post the nomenclature would be Air Observation Post{AOP}. There is no record of any discussion on this issue and neither it has ever been debated that why this change of name took place.

D Flight did arrive in France on 19<sup>th</sup> April 1940 and moved to Maillay with an entourage of over 400 all ranks, 75 vehicles and certain administrative set up they were all under command Lieutenant Colonel Hilton of RHA with Bazeley given a 'carte blanche' to communicate direct to War Office.. The general impression that arises out of this initial spectrum is of an army which lacks will to fight and is totally unprepared for a war

Thus it is no surprise that D Flight did not conduct any operational sortie<sup>157</sup> nor any artillery shoot neither they were utilised by the BEF and nor they themselves volunteered to do so. By 7<sup>th</sup> May 1940 rumours of German onslaught were at their heights and finally on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1940 the Blitzkrieg was on the roll and aircraft were moved by Bazeley from the aerodrome to close by open areas and like rest of British and French armed forces he too was mentally paralysed, otherwise there is no other plausible explanation for his not flying to the BEF area especially the 51<sup>st</sup> Highland Division and offering his services, his other mentor Lieutenant Colonel Parham was also commanding a medium regiment and he should have been happy to receive him and utilised his services. Bazeley send the RAF segment of the D Flight to make their way at their own and himself and other pilots flew to Dieppe and from where he send an officer with an aircraft to fly back to London and informed the War Office and also to get the signal issued for their return ,Captain Davenport flew to London on 19<sup>th</sup> May and very next day the rest of the two aircraft also flew back without any escort across the channel to Old Sarum. Miraculously the RAF party also managed to get back home without any mishap leaving the attached artillery and ack ack to fight their way back. The future relationship of RAF lower ranks and AOP remained very strained and in certain cases these RAF ranks simply left them during exercises at home<sup>158</sup>, Air OP historians and officers have been very critical of this conduct of RAF yet the roots were laid here in France because of Captain Bazeley's self eccentric conduct.. But it was not unusual as at least one RAF squadron also simply left the airfield without even waiting for its fighters to land back.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>156</sup> AIR 35/111; letters 1411/air 4 dated 26<sup>th</sup> January 1940; and letter dated 6<sup>th</sup> May 1940

<sup>157</sup> AIR 2/7188. D Flight War diary 2r/gD1/1, Form 540, see also D Flight report of 13<sup>th</sup> May 1940, MAF Document No 19., box no 5. also see WO 216/77 letter dated 5<sup>th</sup> May 1940

<sup>158</sup> Lyell, Memoirs of Air OP, p.32

<sup>159</sup> MD/2242: *Brown With Two Shades of Blue, Reminiscences of an air observation gunner service with RAF and Fleet Air Arm*, p-3,4,9,14,15

The experience of the France had a deep impact on both services as both blamed each other for the fiasco. The consensus among the army was that RAF has let them down at least when compared to the Luftwaffe's support to their army which in any case was not off the mark.<sup>160</sup> Bazeley's report shows that AOP was unable to carry out the observation beyond seven thousand yards, communication was the major irritant. All the pre war concepts which Bazeley had himself written about the AOP now proved in vain; biggest reality was that it {AOP} cannot operate under hostile air environments, it requires sufficient air cover and ground protection apart from need of an anti aircraft battery, all relics of WW1.

Fate of the D Flight was decided initially by the RAF to let it live and soon War Office took charge of the affairs, thus the contention that RAF was against the AOP is not justified. However it was again General Massy who was now Director Military Training to keep the concept of AOP alive he ensured that AOP be given another six months during which it was placed under the Home Forces and a questionnaire was prepared to be answered by the army formations and artillery school on the validity of the concept. The fear of invasion was another key factor for the survival of D Flight.

D Flight had a busy schedule and Bazeley and Hilton put their best to make this concept survive. The questionnaire had ten questions and dealt with the theme to find how far AOP can observe the target, can it differentiate between own and enemy infantry and what are its chances of survival in hostile air environments. It was also decided even before the trials were completed that another batch of artillery officers should be trained as AOP, thus over fifty officers were earmarked to undergo course of six weeks at elementary flying training school and then further six weeks training at Larkhill with D Flight, this clearly indicates that War Office had already made up its mind that AOP is useful without waiting for the report. Otherwise one of the questions that whether it can survive under hostile air environments was answered in the France.

The selection of an aircraft for AOP still remained a thorny issue with RAF finally reaching to the conclusion that there is no aircraft which fully fills the AOP requirement<sup>161</sup>, Major Bazeley had already rejected the Taylorcraft during trials in France, again on his recommendation the American Stinson aircraft was recommended. In America the first use of aircraft for artillery observation were carried out by the second lieutenant Joseph Mcord Watson with 36<sup>th</sup> Divisional artillery<sup>162</sup> and in 1939 American Army conducted a design competition for small liaison aircraft in which Stinson O-49 and Ryan 'Dragon Fly' stood the test. On the advice of Major Bazeley War Office placed an order of 100 Stinson aircraft which were to arrive in June 1941. Meanwhile RAF did offer even Hurricane apart from Blenheim to be used as the AOP aircraft but they were rejected.

In November 1940 an army cooperation command was set up under Air Marshall Barret and Air OP was placed under him {as part of training group under No 70 Wing}. This was a highly desirable and required step as for the first time RAF accepted the need of army

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<sup>160</sup> AIR 2/7188; WO letter 0144/7551[M.O.7] 11<sup>th</sup> July 1940 regarding the provision of tactical and strategic aircraft for army in the field. Army air requirement, note by Chief of the Air Staff 1<sup>st</sup> November 1941

<sup>161</sup> AIR and WO

<sup>162</sup> MR/192 Report of the General Board United States Forces European Theatre report on study of organic field artillery air observation {study No 66} pp.1-39.

requirements, from AOP concept it was a turning point, they came under a full fledged command of RAF which eases its administrative and training requirements..

The report<sup>163</sup> at the end of the year from home forces, artillery school and RAF No 73 Wing were all favourable{Air OP historians have overlooked this fact}. RAF did pointed out that only ‘30% of observation is possible from ground observation’ and the balance cannot be overcome through the army co-operation fast moving aircraft which were being used for the artillery reconnaissance, thus AOP seems to be a viable solution for sharing the load but it will not replace the army cooperation aircraft .Army formations on the other hand were also favourable for the AOP but their analysis were similar to the trial reports of early days The most glaring part of the trials were that AOP can only observe up till 3000-4000 yards, it requires fighter protection, it requires ground ack ack cover, it needs very close coordination with the supporting artillery battery, ‘AOP is useful but it cannot meet the long range artillery requirement’<sup>164</sup>.

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Air Marshall Arthur Barrett, is generally not regarded and remembered in good words by Air OP officers and historians<sup>165</sup> he is ridiculed for his remarks about the AOP where he termed the concept as unviable, but the AOP has been unfair to him and his quotes and remarks have been taken and quoted out of context. In fact none has helped AOP more than him ,he was the first one to analyse the whole idea from a professional point of view. Once the southern command and artillery school had given favourable remarks for the AOP it was Barret who was asked to forward his ,and in his two reports he elaborated the idea by stating that whole concept is revolving around ability of an aircraft to take off and land close to the artillery battery but Arthur pointed out that this is possible only in the plains of Salisbury ,but what will happen if this AOP is deployed outside homeland where there is no such area, further he went to highlight the tactical dilemma in case if the battery is attacked by infiltration as aircraft which can not fly at night would be a liability, moreover it cannot fly in bad weather. Barrett’s judgement was that AOP is good enough for homeland but not for abroad . In his first report he did not committed himself to any definite answer he was asked again to be precise and that is when he wrote. ‘*The case against the AOP is final, it cannot stayed alive...Artillery should explore the other means including Kite observers*’ and it is these remarks that are always exploited by the AOP. Yet the hard fact is that artillery as a whole never ever explore any other means nor even gave a try; further more in the time period starting from 1938 the other side of the issue that RAF pilots cannot be trained as gunner was never contemplated .it will only be the time when the AOP is deployed that the real assessment of Barret’s words would be judged, it is worth pointing that Barret himself was commissioned in artillery in 1910 and served as artillery observer in RFC during WW1 thus he had more vision than any of the military officer on the issue. Director military training Lieutenant General Massy countered all the negative remarks by stating that ‘we are preparing for an European war and it should be seen in this contest’<sup>166</sup> he further highlighted that there are over 187 artillery field regiments and 27 medium regiments at home and over 56 abroad and ideally there should be an aircraft with each one of them. Massy at least came up

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<sup>165</sup> Memoirs of an Air Observation Officer pp and Unarmed into Battle pp

<sup>166</sup> WO 32/10413

with the exact figure and the role of AOP although by stressing that it is meant only for the European Theatre he admitted the inherent flaws of the idea.

Unfortunately Barrett's remarks came up at a time when army was pressing hard for more and more RAF support for ground operations and RAF was resisting as hard as it can<sup>167</sup>. CIGS John Dill on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1941 pressed for almost 109 squadrons<sup>168</sup> to be earmarked for its requirements, among this list the last item were requirement for AOP Squadrons .

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'To enable the artillery to carry out air shoots at very short notice quickly and efficiently an organisation for the observation and direction of fire, consisting of Air Observation Posts in the form of squadrons of light aeroplanes with royal artillery pilots is required. The immediate requirement is for three squadrons, the aircraft to be supplied in the first instance from any light aeroplane resources which are available. These squadrons will later be re-equipped with the one hundred Stinson O-74 aircraft which are on order from America and whose delivery should be hastened. The ultimate requirement is for twelve squadrons each of twelve aircraft'.

RAF on the other hand strongly contended this and cited that Luftwaffe support for 154 German divisions was only 3000 aircraft where as British Army is asking almost 5000 aircraft for fifteen divisions. However on the issue of air op, Air Chief wrote "provision of AOP squadrons should remain on low priority as they take equal resources as any regular army co-operation squadron demands"<sup>169</sup>. The revised requirements of the army were put up again and these were discussed and RAF finally gave way on the AOP issue<sup>170</sup>. The other notable event of that time was the raising of the regiment of RAF in which guns were also included and RAF requested for army artillery instructors and there is no reason to doubt that the raising of AOP squadron was as a barter .

Thus in this haste the first AOP squadron was raised which had no aircraft and neither it had any organisation . War Office informed the southern command on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1941 that first squadron is now raised and its nomenclature is No 1 Air Observation Squadron Royal Air Force {Army Personnel} however it was RAF which allotted the block serial of 600 to AOP squadrons and thus this first squadron was christened as No 651 AOP Squadron RAF{Army Personnel}. It was raised at Old Sarum and was practically evolved out of the D Flight, where as D Flight remained alive and was later converted into 1484 Flight, for training purposes.

The evaluation of AOP on the home land during the manoeuvres were praised by the formation commanders and it was rightly so because on home ground AOP was able to operate from the damp strips {as English cricket team does} and provide limited artillery support its major impact was in the transportation of senior officers which before it were relying heavily upon on the RAF and seldom got that thus they were able to save time now with the AOP and it was all against the rules. Thus it was home forces commander who had to

<sup>167</sup> AIR 39/16 ACC/44/9/AIR; Air support for Army.GHQ and War Office memorandums

<sup>168</sup> AIR 39/16 ACC/44/9/AIR; Air support for Army.GHQ and War Office memorandums

<sup>169</sup> AIR 39/16 ACC/44/9/AIR; Air support for Army.GHQ and War Office memorandums, paras , air chief's reply dated 17<sup>th</sup> June 1941. also see Army air requirement, note by chief of the air staff 1<sup>st</sup> November 1941 an x a

<sup>170</sup> AIR 39/16; ACC/44/9/AIR and acc/s.142/air.; Air support for Army.GHQ and War Office memorandums dated 12<sup>th</sup> May , paras 11 and 12.

issue strict orders that AOP;s use as a taxi should be avoided<sup>171</sup>. The favourable reports which AOP got for its continue living are mostly due to this performance. The command channel of AOP was also another source of irritation as they were under the control of the CRA and it was his discretion to allot the aircraft and sorties.

## 1942-1943. AOP Campaigns

### 651 Squadron In Africa and 654 Squadron in Italy

North African invasion's preparation started in early part of the year and it was Brigadier Parham CCRA 1<sup>st</sup> Army; one of the early proponents of AOP involved in the planning phase who recommended the induction of AOP in the assault troops. He admits 'no one in the planning had any clue about the AOP... AOP to be used till it finishes it self'<sup>172</sup>. Bazeley was also attached with the Parham for planning. The raising matters of AOP became complicated with every passing day, artillery wanted to stamp its own identity and demanded that the vehicles of AOP be allotted with army tactical numbers resultantly the AOP Squadron got both RAF and army numbers ,army gave Mob serial No 34506 and RAF number was A9189, this rather inconspicuous act had severe retarding effect later as services rules restricted the drivers and transport to carry their own services load, yet another eccentricity of British military system. Tactical aspect of AOP was never considered in the army manoeuvres, the organisation was based upon the RAF pattern, in fact it was Air Marshall Barrett who gave the first out line organisation but it was based upon the preamble that AOP would be operating from the static bases of the RAF. The relation ship of other ranks of RAF and AOP army officers were highly demoralising with RAF troops in certain cases leaving the pilots without even informing them to spend the night in the comfort of the air base. 651 Squadron was earmarked for the invasion but surprisingly no close co-ordination took place between the pilots and the affiliated regiments of artillery one of the fundamental principle of AOP. It is no surprise that AOP was the last unit to get the orders for mobilisation on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1942. Bazeley has blamed RAF for this delay but the root cause was the twin channel of commands 'conflicting orders from both services were sent to the squadron'.<sup>173</sup>

Before the onset of North African campaign the AOP had drifted too much away from its original concept which the artillery and army were still presenting to the RAF yet in reality it was not there. Instead of mature artillery officers of battery commander calibres there were young officers who had little knowledge of artillery procedures, as they were still

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<sup>173</sup> WO Major Bazeley's report administrative Problems, 2/Air/5. April 1943. p.1 para 2

taught in the AOP courses the drills and tactics apart from the layout of the division<sup>174</sup>. The other pillar of AOP was that battery commander should be able to take off from the ground next to his battery and carry out the fire correction but now the aircraft were not attached to the batteries rather to the regiment and pilot had no intimate knowledge of the guns layout or the actual tactical disposition. The aircraft selection remained a thorny issue, the original Taylorcraft around which the concept was evolved had vanished in the favour of the American Stinson aircraft and over 100 were ordered but the very first batch had the mishap of being transported under the cheese crates and arrived damaged<sup>175</sup>, the further supplies were in doldrums as American army itself selected the same aircraft for its liaison duties. The role of staff officers is very important in any war at least in fostering the relationship between the services. Artillery advisors unfortunately fell below this mark as they added fuel to the fire by disseminating information to the commanders which had no truth as is obvious from the following letter. On 18<sup>th</sup> February 1942 General Officer Commanding Home Forces General Bernard wrote a demi official letter to the C.I.G.S. General Alan Brooke, the home forces commander's three page letter was harshly worded he wrote,

'M.G.R.A tells me ... that certain officers in Air Ministry are the real hurdle... There is a calculated obstruction to getting anything moving... war office is not firm enough... I ask for further 13 A.O.P. squadrons'.<sup>176</sup> To close the arguments he stated the authority be given to take over the AOP by the artillery.

.It took almost a fortnight before CIGS replied in black and white and on 16<sup>th</sup> March 1942 he replied and right from the onset made it clear that there is no deliberate efforts on anybody's part to derail the AOP 'I think you have been misinformed... The issues at stake are very much bigger than these of Air OP squadrons... these Air OP squadrons takes a very low priority'<sup>177</sup>

Thus it becomes clear that its not only the RAF or Air Ministry but also War Office that viewed the Air OP not as a priority one. RAF had highlighted that it takes equal resources to raise AOP or fighter squadron, these AOP squadrons were not relieving the RAF from the responsibility of Arty R. However due to the pressure of the home forces commander resultantly the paperwork started to replace the Stinson with Auster aircraft and by May 1942 Auster 3 aircraft started their debut with the AOP. Thus it was army which accepted an aircraft which it had previously rejected on the grounds that it does not full fill the requirements of an AOP and now over 700 were ordered. This induction of Auster was again challenged by the AOC. Army Co-Operation command Air Marshall Barrett on the grounds that he was never asked in the induction and above he cannot allow his pilots to fly an aircraft which is unsafe.

The AOP Flight after sailing from Glasgow docked at Algiers on 12<sup>th</sup> November in the follow up echelon with 'eight crated Auster aircraft eleven pilots, sixty four other ranks

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<sup>174</sup> MD/4024 Creswell, Lieutenant Colonel John Hector. *Collected pilots notebooks, course note book, manuscript diary of 7 Section, B Flight AOP Squadron RAF, pilots flying log and two published officers Association Reviews.*

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<sup>176</sup> WO 216/77 letter from C-n-C Home Forces H.F./6308/1/R.A.{F.A.} dated 18<sup>th</sup> February 1942

<sup>177</sup> WO 216/77 ;CIGS reply

and twenty three motor vehicles and one staff car<sup>178</sup> and three days later assembled the four Auster aircraft and then flew amidst air cover to report to 1<sup>st</sup> Army which in reality was nothing more than a corps. AOP by its design was not meant to be so heavily loaded in terms of transport.

The tactical situation on ground along with weather restricted the deployment of the Austers, they were attached with the 78 Infantry Division and sections were further attached with each of the supporting brigade with flight headquarters remaining with the corps headquarters. The performance of AOP in this short campaign which unexpectedly turned in favour of Germans by virtue of their quick reinforcements highlights the inherent weaknesses of the AOP. They conducted a mere 37 sorties out of which only ten were in support of the artillery, their deployment with brigade headquarters put them away from the affiliated regiments, the 13 Medium and 132 field regiments{in original concept after trials AOP was meant only for the field artillery and not for the medium regiment.} Their only sortie of any worthwhile cause was to try and locate 5<sup>th</sup> Northampton Battalion which was apparently lost in mountains and pilot Captain Oldman despite locating them was unable to communicate as the wireless communication was not matching<sup>179</sup>. Official history has covered the lack of sorties to the fact that the mountainous terrain gave equal advantage to the ground observer thus there was no need to take to the air<sup>180</sup>. The diary of 7 Section B Flight depicts a picture of utter frustration mainly due to the fact that Flight Headquarters was located at rear and spares had to be brought almost daily, he further highlights the limitation of night flying and operating from forward strips, one aircraft crashed due to landing in darkness, there were further incidents of German aircraft attacking the Auster which in certain cases were not successful yet RAF as a precaution stopped flying as they were unable to provide the fighter escort for limited duration of the AOP which was getting airborne for mere twenty minutes and that too behind own lines.

By January 1943 the squadron was complete in entity with three flights supporting three divisions including 6 Armoured Division and Bazeley was recalled to the home. In the all important battles of Tunisia the AOP was missing as they took no part in the artillery bombardment, one reason was that most of the artillery bombardment took place in the dark and AOP lacked the means to fly in the dark. On the basis of the 651 Squadron performance the fate of second AOP depended and had it been a realistic appreciation of their performance the second squadron 654 might not have arrived yet artillery formation sent a signal to the War Office complementing the role of the AOP 'Air Op already an unquestionable success despite adverse conditions ... Austers... endangered pilots'.<sup>181</sup> Thus 654 squadron also arrived in March 1943 and was shifted to the 8<sup>th</sup> army, in the end none of these squadrons played any role worth mentioning in the artillery bombardment. Log book of a pilot for the month of April 1943 reveals just one sortie for artillery and rest of first fifteen days flying concerns either ferrying of aircraft or seeking information sorties.<sup>182</sup> An example of a sortie is given by

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<sup>178</sup> Parham, p.28

<sup>179</sup> Parham, p.35

<sup>180</sup> Parham, p.37.

<sup>181</sup> WO, message no 087611 dated 9<sup>th</sup> December 1942 from RA 1<sup>st</sup> Army

<sup>182</sup> MD/4024 Creswell *Collected pilots notebooks*.

a flight report which undertook on 23/.24<sup>th</sup> March 1943 between 2345-0045 hours under full moon conditions

'I{one more AOP pilot as passenger} took off had no difficulty in locating the target...opening round fell 800 yards over.....after several rounds I establish a short bracket...still rounds fell short ...I added 300 yard more...wireless was weak'<sup>183</sup> There was nothing wrong with the sortie in war these things do happen but it highlight that not much of difference was created by having a gunner in the cockpit of a slow moving aircraft.

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On the other hand these squadrons were used for the transportation of the senior officer and even the flight commanders were unable to change the pilots which were attached with the General Anderson as personal pilots.'4<sup>th</sup> April 1943 section to be used as 8<sup>th</sup> Army commander private taxi,most depressing news'<sup>184</sup> .It is safe to assume that it was basing on their this utility that the signals for their utility were issued.

Bazeley was posted back to the artillery school and he later wrote a personal report for the commandant in which he highlighted everything from the issue of uniform to the pay and rewards discrepancy and yet had no words on the tactical doctrine of the AOP in field 'in two months after arrival no RAF officer had visited my headquarters or any of my flight headquarters.`.<sup>185</sup>The burning question was whether a flight should operate as a unit or should the sections be split ,the experience of forward deployment of aircraft with the artillery regiments had a negative impact as these units in a fluid battle situation were bound to change their location and with the inability of AOP to fly at night they became more of a liability as it happened on 29<sup>th</sup>/30<sup>th</sup> November 1940 when strip came under attack at Tebourba. Bazeley strongly recommended that the maintenance flight which was integral to the flight headquarters and consisted entirely of RAF personnals and commanded by RAF officers should be separated from the squadron as it hampered the squadron's mobility, however this is another indication of the relationship between army and RAF even within a small unit..

The over-rated signals about the performance of AOP were a major reason that no serious evaluation was undertaken for its improvement.BRA 1<sup>st</sup> Army praised the performance of AOP and later his signal was sent to India as well'The Air OP really came into its own under battle conditions,many regimental and divisional shoots were done on 9 Corps front with excellent results and in spite of the fact that RAF still felt Arty/R was not 'on'' owing to the risk unless fighter cover was provided'<sup>186</sup>.

General Lockhart in his despatches to India praised the AOP,he was given this briefing by Director of the Air War Office at the meeting of Dominion representatives on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1943. 'Air OP has played a vital role in African Campaign'.<sup>187</sup>.

**Sicily.** In July 1943 the invasion of Sicily took place .The whole question of AOP operating in mountainous terrain was put to test by Captain Nielson who visited the 52 Division Headquarters and informally informed the divisional commander General Ritchie

<sup>183</sup> WO ,Flight Report Sortie No 6

<sup>184</sup> MD/4024 Creswell;.entry of diary dated 4<sup>th</sup> April 1943.

<sup>185</sup> WO 2/air/5 dated april 1943

<sup>186</sup> AIR....GS Branch U.O 22366/RA1. dated 19<sup>th</sup> October 1943.

<sup>187</sup> WO CGS 43/3 dated 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1943 from General Lockhart,India Office to Lt-Gen Morris C.G.S.

that 'AOP is not fit for operations in mountainous country basing upon the experience of Tunisian campaign'.<sup>188</sup> Nielson further highlighted that Captain Rogers an AOP pilot had crashed and died in the Wales because of intensive bumpiness and squadron commander himself advocated the restricted flying in mountains. General Ritchie in his letter to War Office stated 'it is unnecessary to consider...Air OP in mountain warfare any further...helicopter type of aircraft might meet our needs'.<sup>189</sup> It became a big issue with War Office demanding the explanation, it resulted in a court of inquiry, it was finally the RAF which came to the help of pilot 'I feel that 52 Division are the author of their own mistake'.<sup>190</sup> This episode highlights the basic difference between the approach of two services as far flying was concerned. War Office admitted that the 'value of {AOP} squadron under mountain warfare conditions can only be gauged after trials have been carried out'.<sup>191</sup> One advantage of this episode was the evaluation of the AOP in which it was emphasised that AOP requires over '300 yards of flat smooth ground with in 2-3 miles of artillery position and flight duration should not be more than 20 minutes'.<sup>192</sup>

The first AOP segment consisting of one flight each from 651 {three aircraft} and 654 squadrons arrived at Sicily on D+10 in a ship, it virtually faced the same problems as they faced in Africa, It has been noted that in both the campaigns the aircraft were transported by road, it was not the most viable means of transportation during the Sicily invasion the Austers were moved by road for over 60 miles resultantly two were damaged, 651 squadron was fully operational by 6<sup>th</sup> August in support of 13 Corps 'ALG were at times 15 miles away from the affiliated regiment'.<sup>193</sup> This distance involved almost over an hour of drive thus valuable time was lost which negated the philosophy of AOP. The terrain was mountainous which made the preparation of the landing grounds an highly skilled affair and put strain on the resources. 'throughout operations ALG's have been very difficult to find'.<sup>194</sup> The field elevation also restricted the power output of the Auster aircraft. Sicilian campaign as analysed from the 654 squadron war diary reveals that, almost one hundred and forty five hours were flown by the squadron and conducted twenty nine sorties for artillery and flew seventy hours on sorties not related to artillery. Majority of sorties were undertaken for a duration under half an hour, almost 90% shoots were undertaken through the medium regiments, on ten occasions between 1<sup>st</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> August, more than fifty rounds were fired by the artillery on the orders of AOP. B flight flew almost 220 minutes on 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> August and did not occasions between only once i.e. on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1943 more than 24 rounds were fired.

<sup>188</sup> AIR 39/143;wo/artyl/6088{air 1}dated 17<sup>th</sup> April 1943

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.Letter No.LDS/628/i/G/I,30<sup>th</sup> March 1943.

<sup>190</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Ibid,letter from major general DO Staff duties to GOC 52{L}Division dated 20<sup>th</sup> April 1943.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid,reply of Major Cobley the 652 Squadron Commander in due course of court of inquiry.

<sup>193</sup> WO Major Neathercoat Operations carried by 651 Squadron in Sicily from 19<sup>th</sup> July -13<sup>th</sup> August 1943.

<sup>194</sup> WO... Major T.Willett Squadron Commander 654,20<sup>th</sup> August 1943.

**.Italy.**In the latter phase of the campaign that involves invasion of mainland Italy the glaring difference between the AOP and American AOP<sup>195</sup> became obvious. American AOP were the first to land on the soil, four American pipers{AOP} cubs took off from the specially designed strip from a landing craft and directed the fire of their naval ships and later landed on the occupied ground, these American AOP also flew over 2000 sorties in African campaign as compared to mere 37 by the British AOP, the probable reason was the unifying control of the aircraft and a basic difference in the tactics of both .The Americans kept all their aircraft concentrated at an airfield close to the front and all missions were taken and co-ordinated by the G staff where as in British AOP the aircraft were allotted in singles to brigades with no reserve and in the end it was the field artillery which suffered..

On 9<sup>th</sup> September 1944 one flight of 654 Squadron arrived at Tuschiana {Salerno Bay} and operated in support of 10 Corps and the American 5<sup>th</sup> Army.Squadron was completed in a fortnight and attributed its lack of activities to the terrain ‘mountainous country north of Salerno was not so suitable for the Air OP’s to operate.’<sup>196</sup> This squadron remained in Italy till the end of the war and is an example of AOP operating in the mountainous region. Its three flights kept on shuffling between the 10 Corps ,the Canadian Corps,the Polish and Indian Divisions apart from working with the American army. Seldom it operated as a single entity, it is a study of another aspect of AOP ,the comparison between the squadron operating as a centralised or in flights. AOPs activities fluctuated with weather and air situation,when the Luftwaffe was busy against the Anzio landing the squadron was able to fly at al altitude above three thousand feet ‘free from enemy air...squadron was able to fly sorties lasting over an hour’ .<sup>197</sup>.

655 Squadron lost five pilots in the campaign the highest number of casualties by any AOP squadron , one pilot captain Peter was shot down by the Luftwaffe patrol, Tony met the same fate, John was shot down by the ground fire, Aitchison was shot by own fire ,B Flight supported 6 AGRA<sup>198</sup> and that was the only time that an artillery group was supported by the AOP effectively, it had four medium and one heavy regiment.

One key handicap in evaluating the effectiveness of the AOP is their over exuberant reports and returns which does not match with the instructions of Air Ministry and War Office, the common factor in majority of the reports are praises for the artillery staff of the corps ‘through out the operations we have been most intelligently employed and have received every co-operation from RA 30 Corps and divisional artillery and have been used with discretion and regard for our limitation...shooting procedure presented no problem’<sup>199</sup> .

<sup>195</sup> MR/192 report of the general board.pp.5-15.AIR 23/2552 letter to HQ air Command SE Asia dated 24<sup>th</sup> November 1944.

<sup>196</sup> MAF,Short Historical Notes No.654 AOP Squadron.,p.2.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid,p.3.

<sup>198</sup> MAF. Box No.10 Lieutenant Colonel Oldman,History of 655 Squadron.

<sup>199</sup> WO ;report on the activities of 654 squadron in sicily

The aspect of night flying was another issue ,despite the propagated capability of AOP the Air Ministry highlighted that ‘pilots of 655 squadron got blind while landing at night using glares’.<sup>200</sup> Ministry further clarified the night flying capability by stating that it can be done if moon is in second phase, Air OP should not fly more than 20,000 yards into enemy territory, remain within wireless range and operate from same strip.<sup>201</sup> ‘Air Op Squadron was operating from D Plus 1 day and was an unqualified success...no aircraft were lost through enemy actions...Air Ops also observed many naval shoots...Auster aircraft gave excellent results’.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> AIR 23/2552 :CS 11016/111/D.Ops{tac}dated 7<sup>th</sup> November 1943

<sup>202</sup> AIR.... U.o.22366/RA.1 dated 19<sup>th</sup> October 1943.

**Table 1** Analysis of Sorties No.654 AOP Squadron, October 1943-April 1945  
In the Italian Front excluding Sicily campaign which ended on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1943 and invasion of Italy mainland started on 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1943.

<b>1943</b>	Effective shoots	Non effective shoots	Counter battery reconnaissance	Information	Total
October	136	26	33	115	310
November. <i>Weather Bad</i>	53	24	8	37	122
December. <i>Bad weather</i>	31	23	28	46	128
<b>1944</b>					
January	136	46	90	171	443 <b>309.25</b> operational hours <b>155</b> non operational hours
February <i>Cassino Battle</i>	180	40	112	25	357
March <i>Anzio</i>	79	26	203	28	336
April	12	7	36	13	68
May, <i>Adolf Hitler Line</i> <i>13 Corps,1</i> <i>C anadian corps</i>	162	34	246	94	536
June. <i>10 Corps</i>	128	15	207	44	394
July	509	41	403	28	981
August, <i>Gothic Line</i>	455	73	274	25	827
September, <i>PolCorps</i>	472	70	185	24	751
October, <i>bad weather</i>	244	30	117	5	396
November , <i>bad weather</i>	137	42	144	20	343
December, <i>bad weather</i>	112	Not Recorded	125		237
<b>1945</b>					
January <i>bad weather</i>	126	Not Recorded	142		268
February	228	NR	183		411
March	101	NR	86		187
April, <i>Senio River</i>	592	NR	391		993

**AOP with 22<sup>nd</sup> Army Group & 14<sup>th</sup> Army- 652 Squadron and 656 Squadron**

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Employment of AOP in Operation Overlord from a historical perspective is similar to the RFC's role in early part of the WW1. AOP pilots were flying the similar un-armed aircraft which had the same characteristic as in WW1 in terms of flying envelope, however in this war the role was more specific than the past; to act as an elevated platform for the artillery. The meagre available published material leaves a vacuum as to the real evaluation of the AOP in the light of previous almost six years of hard paper battles between the army and the RAF where both had contradicting angle of evaluation of the concept. The key element from regimental history is the admission of German commanders on the menace of AOP 'but the greatest menace of all are the slow-flying artillery spotters which work with utter calmness over our positions, just out of reach and direct artillery fire on our forward positions'<sup>203</sup>. Yet these historians have very conveniently overlooked the fact that over 1300 American Air OP's were also operating in the same area, thus remarks of German commanders are not meant for only British AOP. 21 Army Group had Nos 652, 653, 658, 659, 660, 661 and 662 AOP Squadrons comprising of over one hundred Auster IV and V aircraft under its command, this army group had since 1943 contemplated the use of AOP in the assault phase similar to the American use during the Anzio, 652 Squadron did carry out few deck landings but the concept was not adopted mainly as it compromised security. It was at this stage that 21 Army Group requested War Office to procure American aircraft but former regretted that it is not possible at this stage<sup>204</sup>.

AOP Squadrons prepared hard for the incoming invasion and conducted flying over the water and remained with the affiliated formations. Tactically AOP flights were affiliated with the divisions and as such it was planned that advance parties from each squadron should get ashore with the invading infantry, establish the ALG which were selected from aerial photography, these parties were also task to establish liaison with the formation by having an officer attached with them. This was an utter wastage of pilots as in a flying unit it is the pilot which matters, it takes years to make a pilot and AOP was sending them in ground role. Unlike RFC the AOP had no centralised command to plan their use.

As all these AOP squadrons were raised in same time period and had the same aircraft thus for the purpose of evaluation it is logical to follow one squadron's activities which holds true for others. {published works have been portraying broader picture thus this aspect has been neglected}. 652 Squadron in support of 1<sup>st</sup> British Corps had its advance party landed on Queen Sector {red and white beaches} at 0045 hours on 7<sup>th</sup> June 1944.<sup>205</sup>

Squadron flights were supporting the corps formations in following manner.

SHQ.	1 <sup>st</sup> Corps Headquarters
A Flight.	3 <sup>rd</sup> Canadian Division

<sup>203</sup> Parham and Belfield *Unarmed into Battle*, p,73; Major Andrew Iyell *Memoirs of AOP*, p.78

<sup>204</sup>

<sup>205</sup> MD/4024 Creswell, *Collected pilot note books B Flight AOP Squadron*, p2

B Flight.	3 <sup>rd</sup> British Division{7 <sup>th</sup> ,33 <sup>rd</sup> and 76 <sup>th</sup> Field Regiments}
C Flight	51 <sup>st</sup> Highland Division
D Flight	8 <sup>th</sup> AGRA{this flight was attached from 659 Squadron}

Three officers {including its flight commander Captain Neilson} of B Flight after getting on ashore set out to locate the ALG, Captain Linton went to contact the division at Colleville-sur-Orne was informed that intended ALG at Cresserons-Plummetot is still under Germans control thus they probed for alternate ALG resultantly the arrival of air party was delayed for a day .On D+2,air party took off from Old Sarum at 0700 landing at 0815 hours ,on this day only five aircraft supported the two divisions the 3<sup>rd</sup> British and Canadian ,no reason or logic has been recorded in squadron history as to why the whole squadron was not there.On D+3 at 1100 hours the remaining squadron landed ,on the same day squadron had its first causality when Captain Eric was shot down by the German fighters. No 658 squadron tale is slightly different as although its three flights went in similar fashion its commanding officer lost his way and took almost two and half hours of flying to reach the ALG. from Selsey to Normandy 'landing ground was a flat piece of ground rolled by the advance party three ton truck...no 'T' to show the ground...well camouflaged...I landed at other field'.<sup>206</sup>

B Flight supported 3<sup>rd</sup> British Division during the battle for the Caen which lasted till 10<sup>th</sup> July it then supported 7<sup>th</sup> Armoured Division till 4<sup>th</sup> September , it took part during the siege battle at Le Havre . B Flight also saw action at Dunkerque, Arnhem Corridor, Antwerp, and Breda before the crossing of Rhine . 'Between June 1944 -29<sup>th</sup> April 1945 it conducted 368 artillery shoots'.<sup>207</sup>

The artillery shoot procedure for which all this effort was undertaken ,its effectiveness is of dubious nature as the artillery regiments refused to act on the pilots executive command of fire, one reason was the deviation of the AOP principles that pilot should be the battery commander, which was not possible here and neither it was ever practiced in the history of AOP. To bring fire quickly was the other key factor for the raising of these squadrons but the flights were scattered and had very little idea of the actual location of the artillery regiments. In actual shoots the concept of ranging was seldom applied as it was time consuming in such hostile air environments ,it was far cry from WW1 when fighters used to provide the air cover for the shoots. Now the pilot had to fly,locate the enemy and plot it on map , communicate to the guns, bring the fire of own guns, correct it and supposed to follow it by procedure and all this in a circular pattern of flying behind own firing lines. It was simply not possible at least in the moving battle, thus pilots resorted to call for the maximum fire 'Stonk' of every gun on the suspected target but this the ground gunners refused to do so on the reason of ammunition scale involved. During WW1 it was the observer's job to locate the German artillery but now the observer was only there to look out for the hostile aircraft and these observers were not trained in most of the case they were the technical airmen as they could differentiate the aircraft ,it severely affected the maintenance of aircraft as Auster had to be serviced after forty hours of flying .The reporting of AOP pilots was another cause of concern., in one case a pilot Captain Bawden of C Flight ex 652 Squadron 'spotted in open ground south of St.Honorine some thirty enemy tanks'.<sup>208</sup> The

<sup>206</sup> Andrew Lyell, *Memoirs of an AOP officer*.pp.72-73

<sup>207</sup> MD/2878 Ian Neilson,*Transcript relating to the role of the AOP in Normandy 1944*.p.35.

<sup>208</sup> MAF,A short History of No.652 AOP 1942-1955,part 1 {1942-45}p.3.

same sortie was task to the commanding officer of 658 Squadron Major Lyell who flew on 12<sup>th</sup> July 1944 ‘but I reported that what had been seen were only bushes’.<sup>209</sup>

AOPs were under command of the artillery and they were employed for the dawn to dusk observation of the front similar to the WW1 pattern of contact patrol but it was not useful here as the targets which AOP would select were not the priority for artillery , AOP would select what ever they observed and in most of the cases these were lone machine guns or mortars .Locating of enemy artillery guns was extremely difficult as 652 squadron history admits about an enemy gun position which have been shelling the squadron on regular basis ‘in spite of many sorties to locate it remained un seen to the end’<sup>210</sup> another factor was the pilots lack of tactical knowledge of the front ,one of the key reason for raising of AOP. In one sortie Captain Hell’s attempted to destroy a bridge through artillery fire only to learn later that this bridge was the life line of own infantry. The dust of the tanks and constant aerial bombing nearly blinded the pilots as a wall of dust was raised ‘after the commencement of the battle it was impossible to see any thing owing to a smoke screen and dust’.<sup>211</sup>The only occasion in which AOP justified its existence in terms of artillery concentration fire was on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1944 when virtually artillery of entire 21 Army Group was placed under 658 Squadron for shoot <sup>212</sup> this was an exception rather than a rule.

After breakout from Falaise the AOP for the first time supported an armoured division the 7<sup>th</sup> .AOP was not organised for rapid movement as it lacked requisite transport for occupation of ALG’s thus a liaison officer had to be detached and moved with the armoured division. .AOP missions were also hindered by the bad weather ,the torrential rain of 20<sup>th</sup> July virtually made no flying possible for another four days.’low clouds and rain severely limited Air O.P’s usefulness’.<sup>213</sup>

AOP’s real value came when they deviated from the rigid artillery role and acted more in the pattern of RFC ,by carrying out the photographic missions and acting as an aerial transport for the commanders,the last duty is highly resented by the AOP pilots yet it was their solid contributions to the war.Another yard stick to evaluate the AOP is to compare its contribution as compared with the American Air OP’s which on ‘8<sup>th</sup> May 1945 numbered 1380’<sup>214</sup>these

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<sup>209</sup> Andrew Lyell, *Memoirs of an AOP officer*,p.80.

<sup>210</sup> MAF,A short History of No.652 AOP 1942-1955,part 1 {1942-45}p.3.

<sup>211</sup> MAF ,*War Diary of 658 Squadron ,entry for 15<sup>th</sup> July 1944*, Andrew Lyell, *Memoirs of an AOP officer*,p.81.

<sup>212</sup> Parham and Belfield *Unarmed into Battle*,p,78;Major Andrew lyell *Memoirs of AOP*,pp.82-85

<sup>213</sup> MD/2878 Ian Neilson Lt Col.transcript relating to the role of the Air Observation Post in Normandy 1944,p.12

<sup>214</sup> Report of the General Board United States,p.2.

Air OPs not only carried out their artillery tasks but also conducted multiple sorties including dropping of explosives for their infantry.

**Table No 2.** Summary of sorties flown by A Flight of 659 AOP Squadron during the month of August 1944 while operating in France..It highlights the inactivity of the flight and supports the arguments that AOP instead of being utilised piecemeal would have been much more effective had they been used in a concentrated manner.

Table No 2

**Operations in Burma** were different from the European and Africa ,the very first factor was the distance away from War Office and Air Ministry secondly AOP here was not part of any amphibious operation. And last but not the least was the fact that only one squadron No.656 was supporting the entire 14<sup>th</sup> Army and its three corps in a jungle terrain where the inter formation communication was lateral interspersed by the high passes, poor primitive road, rail

Type of Sorties	Number	Remarks
Information	20	
Neutralisation	5	
Registration	2	ineffective
Total	27	

and river communication, variation in the altitude had severe impact on the aircraft performance, on one end was the Bay of Bengal and at the other over five thousand feet high Imphal and Kohima. Similarities to previous campaigns remained the same notably the tussle between the army and RAF for control and command of the lone squadron, artillery on regular basis raised doubts about it and repeatedly the same answer was given by the Air Ministry 'AOP are RAF units operationally under command to the army'.<sup>215</sup> By the end of war in Asia three AOP squadrons were operating in India the No 656,658 and 659.the last two squadrons arrived when war was almost over thus it is the 656 Squadron which is of interest. Available published literature is a lone book of memoirs written by a AOP pilot, squadron war diary is another source, the impression that arises is epitomised by General Sir Martin Farndale.

'Their flying hours broke all records, their feats of endurance and airmanship in appalling weather conditions set standards seldom equalled and they never once failed to answer a call for help from their comrades on the ground...story of remarkable feats of arms and must be recorded for ever in the annals of the British army.the Royal Air Force and Royal Artillery.'<sup>216</sup>

<sup>215</sup> AIR letter No4500/1/Org.4 dated 27<sup>th</sup> August 1943

<sup>216</sup> Maslen Jones, *Fire By Order*, back page cover.

656 Squadron arrived at Bombay in August 1943 however its aircraft the Auster-3 arrived in December. AOP Squadron was placed under the No 222 RAF Group and on army side was supporting the 14<sup>th</sup> Army which had three corps 33, 31 and 15 Corps. AOP squadron was not placed under the G staff but remained under the artillery staff.

In November the squadron officers had an area familiarisation tour of the area visiting 4 and 15 Corps areas by air, road and boat. The conclusions were that squadron can provide support to only one corps either 4{Imphal} or 15{Arakan}, and it is more easy to do so with the 15 Corps mainly due to the poor power limitation of Auster at altitude of 5000 feet in case of 4 Corps area. It was also recommended that flights would not occupy the advance landing grounds at night and would retreat to rear.<sup>217</sup> In the end squadron headquarters and two flights {A & C} were attached with 15 Corps and B Flight remained at Johu for a planned amphibious operation which was later abandoned.

By the time the flights and sections were in position after a fifteen hundred road move in which aircraft's speed was tied to the ground party the Japanese attack has been launched. C Flight arrived in Arakan in January 1944 to support the 7 and 4 division was caught in the 'Admn Box'. This provides an ample opportunity to put on test all the theories of AOP that have been raging for last four years. There was nothing wrong with the concept yet it was the rigidity in adherence to the tactical employment which came up here. The aircraft were unable to take off amidst the Japanese raids and shelling, thus for two weeks there was no operational sortie and finally the flight was pulled back to the corps headquarters which was fifteen miles back, the words of Air Marshall Arthur Barret proved prophetic again. The AOP historians and pilots have portrayed their deeds in this particular phase as exemplary because they were able to land all the nine aircraft including one Tiger Moth on a strip and evacuated nine sitting casualties, certainly an act worth praising but the hard fact is that similar American Air Ops were able to evacuate over two hundred casualties from the same area and that is where the British AOP is really put on microscopic analysis. The pilots were brave but they lacked the appropriate aircraft and it was not RAF or Air Ministry fault because Army Council had them self been hasty in this.

American AOP were employed by the Major General Wingate in his Chindit operations<sup>218</sup> for same deeds, British AOP did not took any part although their small aircraft would have been equally useful in those environments. AOP was practically prohibited from carrying out any other task other than the aerial observation thus casualty evacuation was never considered nor the aerial transportation of the senior commanders which almost all AOP pilots regarded as taxi service. Aerial photography, wire laying and air borne forward controller tasks were conducted later.

By the mid of the 1944 hardly after few months of rather inactive flying the squadron was pulled back before the monsoon season and remained in this state for over four months. In this period a prolong paper battle erupted between the RAF elements and the AOP over the use of the aircraft, army channels fully back the AOP where as the higher command of SEALFA dealing with air matter supported the RAF point of view. The points ranged from having a medical officer for each flight to the installation of photographic camera on the Auster. RAF resisted it on the point that it is already being done by them and if installed on

<sup>217</sup> AIR/ 339; Report of members of 656 squadron {AOP} Squadron to 14 Army, 30<sup>th</sup> October 1943.

<sup>218</sup> Personal experience in the 7<sup>th</sup> division, Reginald bailey

Auster will necessitate certain modifications, the matter was referred to Air Ministry .The observer in the AOP became another point of tussle it entails extra weight which hampered the aircraft performance. AOP was again missing from the action once the decisive battle of Imphal and Kohima was being fought, it seems to be a pattern that at every critical junction the AOP was missing. The squadron was stationed at almost 1000 miles away from the area of deployment and its convoy had over forty vehicles and it took ten days of train and road movement to reach Kohima. There is absolutely no plausible reason why the squadron got itself stationed so far away, it was not the threat of the Japanese air attack, its so unusual for a flying squadron to take this much time in reaching the operational area twice within a year.

'By the time we arrived Japanese were already pulling back'<sup>219</sup>Two flights were deployed {A and B Flights} in support of 33 Corps and C Flight at Arakan to support the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps with squadron headquarters with HQ 14<sup>th</sup> Army..The A Flight was supporting the 11<sup>th</sup> east African Division and got itself established on a landing ground which was 11 miles away from the divisional headquarters, and later the flight made two more strips each involving considerable engineers efforts yet no decisive artillery shoots were taken., because of the ammunition supply the aerial artillery shoots were controlled by the BM of the brigade which means that the AOP did not had the executive control of the fire. The busiest day of the flight{22 November 1944} was when it conducted twenty three shoots with four aircraft on a narrow front of five miles using less than three regiments .After crossing of Chindwin the AOP was made to focus on narrow frontage each aircraft supporting one battery, which proved useful.And this pattern remained till the end of fall of Rangoon. The other Flights also moved around involving considerable distances and time. Landing grounds kept on changing. AOP 'emphasis began to move from shooting to information sorties. Cable laying and photography were the principle services as well as some VIP passenger carrying'<sup>220</sup>.The squadron by end December was stretched to the point where one aircraft was supporting one infantry division with headquarters being supported by the aircraft as well. This was not a solution by itself as all aircraft had to move around varying landing grounds and to get the briefing from the relevant brigade majors who in turn were requested by the brigades.The other method of having concentrated effort at the corps headquarters was not employed where through communication the targets could have been sorted out by the corps staff.To fully understand the working of the AOP it is also relevant to have a look at the existing RAF pattern in the sector.The Army HQ and Corps HQ had the air liaison officers for the conduct of the air strikes but very rarely these AOP were incorporated into that pattern..

The British counter attack of late 1944/45 was another opportunity to test the AOP ,now the situation was more favourable for the employment of them as the air superiority was in the hands of allies .On 11<sup>th</sup> January 1945 A Flight was supporting the whole corps with one section each for two infantry division .AOP was employed in much wider and broader scope than merely artillery shoots and that proved useful, for instance on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1945 Capatin Maslen –Jones was tasked to carry out the mapping of the 20 Division area of responsibility and on 7<sup>th</sup> February the two aircraft were in air for seven hours giving running commentary .One important feature of marked improvement in AOP was due to better communication between air and ground..In this phase the employment of AOP from LST was considered and War Office did send a copy and report of such venture by the Americans in Europe.

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<sup>219</sup> Jones, *Fire by Order*, pp.56-57

<sup>220</sup> Ibid p 86-87

It was in first week of January 1945 that the AOP were used for the facilitation of air strikes where they indicated targets by having the smoke rounds fired on the target area..The AOP became important because it was carrying out a number of tasks, cable laying, drooping medical supplies etc and it was appreciated by the army commander. The most notable feature was the first ever land fall from sea by the C Flight of the squadron from HMS Kheddiva but there is no record available to

elaborate this aspect.

**Table No.3 Flying sorties of A Flight of 656 Squadron in Burma.**

Note. One sortie is counted whenever an aircraft takes off ,may it be for five minutes or an hour.It is obvious that 656 squadron maximum sorties were flown not in the support of artillery or reconnaissance but they are miscellaneous, the term by itself is unexplainable.

**Appendix A Organisation & Administration**

Air OP Squadrons were RAF units which were placed under Army co-operations command in United Kingdom, operationally under control of Home Forces. War Office used to allocate the Squadrons to Home Forces or overseas theatres. Within the Home Forces these squadrons were attached with the corps by the MGRA and within the corps it was CCRA and in the division it was BRA who was controlling them. Its role was to act as an elevated air observation post with task to obtain information and to observe fire for the artillery. Its strength was equally provided by the RAF and the army{artillery}.In Indian theatre its strength was increased to cater for the bearers.. its basic unit was the section designed to operate independently even cooking its own food..<sup>221</sup>.One AOP Squadron was allotted to one corps a and one to each army, in field they were operationally under the army control.

**Flying Tactics**<sup>222</sup>..Basing upon the trials it was restricted to fly at maximum to 600 feet, not remaining airborne more than 20 minutes and not to fly within 2,000 yards of occupied enemy

1944	Artillery	Reconnaissance	Miscellaneous	Hours Flown	Flight Sorties	Squadron Sorties
November	126	72	11	222	209	680
December	171	65	Not given	266	236	946
1945						
January	146	182	72	418	400	1251
February	376	98	10	522	484	1260
March	304	118	8	328	430	1238
April	166	85	25	235	276	847
May	52	38	4	104	94	282
<b>Total of the squadron including three flights</b>	<b>2870</b>	<b>1484</b>	<b>2358</b>			<b>6712 sorties and 5710 hours.</b>

<sup>221</sup> WO Notes on the Air O.P squadrons

<sup>222</sup> Note set before army Command meeting at GHQ Home Forces on 13<sup>th</sup> august 1942 by A.O.C in C. Army Co-operation Command,Appendix 'A' to HF,11487/Ops dated 29.7.42

territory. Communication was mainly through the aircraft set No 21, which could provide short range two way communication with artillery battery, another set No.9 was for communication between flights and squadron headquarters. Its tactics and doctrine was responsibility of artillery school and A.C. command.

### **Responsibilities<sup>223</sup>**

#### RAF

Administration

Organisation, including selection and provision of aircraft

General and flying training

#### Army

Operational Control

Selection and provision of pilots and certain other ranks personnel

Certain equipment

Technical training

Training of squadron was responsibility of A.C.Command only in terms of flying and general where as School of artillery was responsible for technical artillery training and in formations it was CCRA's responsibility.

### **Out Line Organisation<sup>224</sup>**

One Squadron headquarters which had four reserve aircraft and two pilots commanded by a major, Three Flying Flights A, B and C, each commanded by a captain and one servicing flight which had one mobile maintenance party and one static workshop commanded by a RAF officer. Each Flight had four sections {A Flight 1-4, B Flight 5-8 and C Flight 9-12}

#### **Officers.**

#### **Other Ranks**

	<i>RAF</i>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>RAF</i>	<i>Army</i>	<i>Total</i>
Squadron Headquarters	2	3	5	18	22	40
Servicing Flight				23		23
Three Flights { each }	-	5	5	14	16	30
Grand total	2	18	20	83	70	153

Aircraft Initial equipment 12 Auster, Four reserve held with the HQ Flight. Thus in a light there were five pilots including the flight commander but only four aircraft. Squadron commander also had no aircraft at his disposal other than to fly one of the reserves..

The first outline organisation was formed by the commander of 70 Group and it was based upon correspondence with School of Artillery. It was structured on having one aerial observer for each artillery regiment, thus 14 Air OP's for a corps having three divisions. and one central servicing station of RAF<sup>225</sup>. Each Air OP to consist of following.

One Pilot officer of RA

Three other ranks {flight mechanic, flight fitter and driver}

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, appendix 'A'. also refer to WO Notes on the Air O.P squadrons

<sup>225</sup> AIR 39/47; Letter from No.70 Group, RAF to Army Co-operation Command, No.70G/S.751/Air dated 18<sup>th</sup> December 1940

One light aircraft

One lorry to carry fuel, lubricants and aircraft stores

One Motorcycle for inter-communication between command post and landing ground

This organisation remained same with only one change, one batman was included in it.<sup>226</sup>

## Appendix B

### AOP Pilots Training

Training of AOP was a dual responsibility between the RAF and the army.<sup>227</sup> AOP was exclusively an officers affair. RAF had its own unique selection and training procedure where candidate was groomed into flying culture from the beginning and as such the standards were very high, in one study only 25% candidates<sup>228</sup> would pass through the Elementary Flying Training {EFTS} before they were moved into higher training

AOP by its design was based upon the assumption that the officers would all be proficient in gunnery affairs and as such all they required is basic flying training. However both these assumptions proved wrong. The officers all volunteers were selected by the War office but in the first two courses and also later on the recommendation of Major Bazeley played an important role and the very first officer he trained was a lieutenant who in turn was given a carte blanche by him to select the first course and he in order not to lose his seniority selected majority of lieutenants and few captains out of which one was dropped because of this factor, it was only in later years that selection procedure was streamlined. Army kept RAF at bay in selection of pilots and thus those officers were also selected who had no aptitude for flying and later many of these were dropped and time on training was wasted.

RAF adhered to their flying standards and rejected the concept of accepting the civil flying club qualifications or standards. Under RAF the officers underwent the EFTS of twelve weeks and later another twelve weeks at 43 Officer Training Unit {OUT}<sup>229</sup> which was solely established for this purpose at Larkhill. Initially the D Flight [1143 Flight] was responsible for this and later it was upgraded into 43 OTU. The instructors were AOP and RAF pilots. AOP pilots were sent to flying instructors school for instructor rating as well. The ground subjects was the responsibility of artillery school at Larkhill, the last part of the training was solely for the artillery shoots and the students were trained in the art of artillery shoots on miniature range as well. Thus the students had to undergo two different types of training under two different types of organisations.

Flying training's final evaluation was the domain of RAF and surprisingly it was the AOP squadron commanders who later wrote to RAF requesting them not to give good grades to the pilots as it creates sense of over confidence in them and with statistics they pointed out that majority of pilots having such grades have met accidents in initial days of squadron flying.

<sup>226</sup> MD artillery Training Volume 1-General Tactical Employment, Pamphlet No.10. Employment and Organisation of The Air O.P.p.2.ssssss

<sup>227</sup> AIR 39/70 flying training of aop pilots policy, also AIR 39/32 conference AC command 18<sup>th</sup> april 1941 at old sarum

<sup>228</sup> Well, Mark, *Courage and Airwarfare the allied aircrew experiences in the second world war* {Frank Cass, London, 1995} pp 13 also see pp 4-12

<sup>229</sup> MD/4024 Creswell, Log book of Captain J.H. Creswell ex 17 EFTS

From the course note books of students it is obvious that they were not very proficient in artillery or general knowledge about the army working as majority of them were lieutenants. They were taught tactics and organisation of division as well. The most glaring aspect of artillery training imparted was reliance upon the 'clock ray' system of indicating targets the very basis on which AOP was raised although the standard procedures were taught yet it was emphasised that 'immediate neutralisation of target is important'<sup>230</sup>. The role of artillery school needs scrutiny as being non flyers they insisted upon adherence to the ground procedures. In India one training flight was established at Deolai where in two years over thirty five officers including one Indian artillery officer 'Duck' Mehta was trained<sup>231</sup>. In European theatres the quality of training was reflected again and again, it was a standard procedure that any officer coming from the Larkhill still had to undergo the operational training on the spot before he was cleared for operational flying.

There was no training for the observer or ground troops for peculiar AOP operations in terms of strip preparation or protection and it was all imparted in the field on daily basis.

**EFTS** 80 hours, normal circuit, low level navigation, forced landings

**OTU** 10-12 weeks

Cross wind landings..3 hours

Instrument flying 2 hours

Night flying 3 hours

General training it included ground training which included aircraft maintenance and use of wireless which had ten periods.

## Appendix C

### AOP Pilots Training

Training of AOP was a dual responsibility between the RAF and the army.<sup>232</sup> AOP was exclusively an officers affair. RAF had its own unique selection and training procedure where candidate was groomed into flying culture from the beginning and as such the standards were very high, in one study only 25% candidates<sup>233</sup> would pass through the Elementary Flying Training {EFTS} before they were moved into higher training

AOP by its design was based upon the assumption that the officers would all be proficient in gunnery affairs and as such all they required is basic flying training. However both these assumptions proved wrong. The officers all volunteers were selected by the War office but in the first two courses and also later on the recommendation of Major Bazeley played an important role and the very first officer he trained was a lieutenant who in turn was given a carte blanche by him to select the first course and he in order not to lose his seniority selected majority of lieutenants and few captains out of which one was dropped because of

<sup>230</sup> MD/4024 Creswell, pilots note books, course note book,

<sup>231</sup> Air 23/2552 letter no 5008/1/air 1[a] 24<sup>th</sup> November 1944

<sup>232</sup> AIR 39/70 flying training of aop pilots policy, also AIR 39/32 conference AC command 18<sup>th</sup> april 1941 at old sarum

<sup>233</sup> Well, Mark, Courage and Airwarfare the allied aircrew experiences in the second world war {Frank Cass, London, 1995} pp 13 also see pp 4-12

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Flying training's final evaluation was the domain of RAF and surprisingly it was the AOP squadron commanders who later wrote to RAF requesting them not to give good grades to the pilots as it creates sense of over confidence in them and with statics they pointed out that majority of pilots having such grades have met accidents in initial days of squadron flying. From the course note books of students it is obvious that they were not very proficient in artillery or general knowledge about the army working as majority of them were lieutenants. They were taught tactics and organisation of division as well. The most glaring aspect of artillery training imparted was reliance upon the 'clock ray' system of indicating targets the very basis on which AOP was raised although the standard procedures were taught yet it was emphasised that 'immediate neutralisation of target is important'<sup>235</sup>. The role of artillery school needs scrutiny as being non flyers they insisted upon adherence to the ground procedures the 'Gospels of Larkhill'<sup>236</sup> were difficult to change and AOP were stressed 'don't try to change the existing procedures' thus they took away the initiative from the pilot in the air and made him bound to the rules.

In India one training flight was established at Deolai where in two years over thirty five officers including one Indian artillery officer 'Duck' Mehta was trained<sup>237</sup>. In European theatres the quality of training was reflected again and again, it was a standard procedure that any officer coming from the Larkhill still had to undergo the operational training on the spot before he was cleared for operational flying.

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<b>EFTS</b>	80 hours, normal circuit, low level navigation, forced landings
<b>OTU</b>	10-12 weeks
	Cross wind landings..3 hours
	Instrument flying 2 hours
	Night flying 3 hours

<sup>234</sup> Log book of Captain J.H.Creswell ex 17 EFTS, Fire Power Museum

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<sup>237</sup> Air 23/2552 letter no 5008/1/air 1[a] 24<sup>th</sup> November 1944

### Conclusion

Apparently raising of few unarmed light aircraft squadrons seems to be a trifle affair in the context of second world war and probably this is the major reason that no dedicated work has ever been taken on this account yet this affair reflects the mind set of senior officers and enlightens us on how the war was fought or more precisely why British military fortunes suffered catastrophic debacles in this conflict, had it not been the material support of America the fate of the war would have been much different. Because if two services cannot agree upon this minor aspect than it is futile to expect them to do great deeds. The root was in the political nature of the British military system at that time where strong lobby was necessary to have any thing done and unfortunately army after Kitchener never had a man of his stature.

Brigadier Massy's {Lieutenant General retired} efforts to revive the aerial observation of artillery fire were based upon his limited flying experience ,to forward his idea he cloak it under the technical terms of artillery. Almost all gunners including Captain Bazeley believed in it more as a sign of regimental spirit . It was challenged by the RAF on professional grounds and from this point onwards it became a matter of ego for the gunners and army. The very trials of 1939 and 1940 at home and France restricted the concept to the adjustment of fire for field artillery only and keeping in view the national war effort it was a mere wastage of material and shipping space yet army pressed forward for it. Army out of reservation and knowing fully well that RAF will not agree to anything related to aircraft under army's control thus it never made the requirement clear and played with the domain of an elevated observer who will perform all the ground observers tasks. Army should have been more specific in its demand and requirements, it required aircraft if for nothing than at least for casualty evacuation for which RAF would had no answer.

AOP was a failure in operations when strictly judged from its constitution where it was meant only for field artillery. limited numbers of aircraft did not even allowed to carry out this task appropriately ,it flew mere nine artillery sorties in its first campaign in North Africa yet false signals from artillery created an impression of its utility. It was a partial success when it is seen in a more broad spectrum of instant photography and rapid transportation of senior officers but then it was never meant for this. Fundamentally if there had been no AOP ,its absence would have created no imbalance on the operations.

It is a surprise that Major General Parham's picture is adorning the Museum of Army Flying at Middle Wallop along with Lieutenant Colonel Charles Bazeley as father of AOP, Parham's only contribution is a lone article on Auto Giro in 1933, Bazeley's war record is unimpressive, Lieutenant General Massy's portrait is surprisingly missing the very person who kept the AOP alive .Unlike American Army the British Army has never conducted an in depth study and evaluation of AOP and neither any academic has ever written solely about them thus an air of aura has been created by the lone historical account and couple of memoirs. Reservations of Air Marshall Arthur Barrett proved almost prophetic and are still valid today that an unarmed, slow aircraft cannot operate effectively from forward areas unless there is complete air superiority.

AOP was a good idea but only if Royal Artillery was operating against the Mahsuds of Waziristan but it was too fragile against a first class professional enemy.

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